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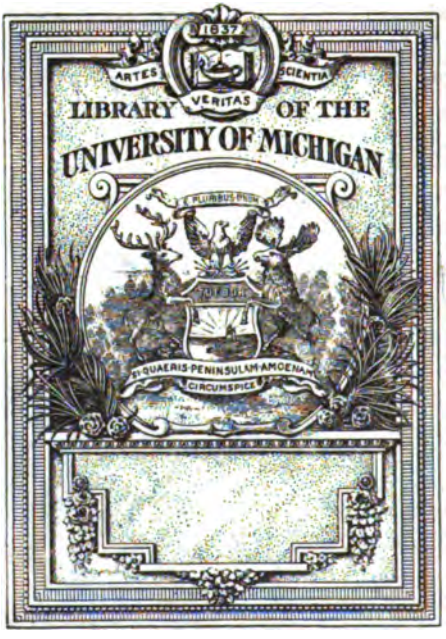


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# THE THEOLOGICAL MONTHLY

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THE

# THEOLOGICAL MONTHLY

*AN EXPONENT OF CURRENT CHRISTIAN THOUGHT*

*AT HOME AND ABROAD*

"EXORCISE THE EVIL GENIUS OF DULNESS FROM THEOLOGY."

"HOLD TO THE WRITTEN WORD."

Vol. I.

JANUARY TO JUNE

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*JANUARY* 1889

# The Theological Monthly

## CHRISTIANITY AT THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

IN entering upon a new cycle of a periodical which, after a long and honourable career, is undergoing that process of transformation which is the law of all things earthly, those who contribute to it can only be understood to agree in a general sense with each other, or with the basis of the publication; and hence the present writer, to whom an unusually arduous and hazardous place has been assigned, must be regarded as speaking entirely for himself, when, perhaps with more courage than wisdom, he undertakes, in a necessarily general way, to sum up the present reach and drift of the great Christian movement, which has been the grandest feature in the history of well-nigh nineteen centuries.

This topic might be handled statistically, touching on the leading Christian nations in turn, with contrasts between any past condition and the present, or between them and the non-Christian races. But it seems better to handle it dynamically, dwelling on the forces of thought and life that are most in the ascendant, with their counter-weights and drawbacks; and as there is hardly time to discuss the latter separately, it would appear most safe to treat the light and the shade together, and as it were to balance them, so as to bring out whatever of progress and hopefulness, after every deduction, may remain. The present writer, whatever he



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be, is certainly not a pessimist in regard to the condition and prospects of living Christianity; and if to any he appear too much the opposite, there is depression enough in many, and in himself also, to keep the pitch reasonably low.

Beginning with the nominally Christian world, in its widest extent, we encounter the well-known boundaries that separate the Greek, the Roman, and the Protestant communions. The first has here to fall aside, as lying for centuries out of the track of fresh and earnest thought, and as affected more by the natural increase of population, and changes of a political kind, than by inward struggle or religious propagandism. No doubt the Greek Church, and especially in relation to Mohammedanism, has grown in the last century in strength and aspiration. But its interaction upon the other Christian communions has been so feeble and limited, that, save for its growth in numbers, it might almost be left unexamined.

Very different has been the reciprocal attitude of the other two great branches of the nominally Christian family. From the period of the Reformation their relation has been that of ever-renewed struggle; and the end of the nineteenth century sees them still in unresolved conflict. It is hardly possible to doubt that the great blow inflicted by the Reformation upon the older communion has been, in the lapse of centuries, not only not repaired but even aggravated. Macaulay might draw half a century ago, in his review of *Ranke's History of the Popes*, a bright picture of the stability and eternal youth of a system which had "seen the lions bound in the Flavian amphitheatre." But the course of subsequent events has falsified these anticipations, which even at the time Protestants repelled. The Church of Rome, by its Syllabus and proclamation of Infallibility, has arrested any tendency to its own revival after the great defeat entailed on it by the first French Revolution; and, what is worse than a fresh breach with the thought and liberty of Europe, has weakened the springs of independent conviction within its own pale. It has thus received no sympathy, even from Romish peoples, in the loss of its

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temporal power; and the possible rise of its spiritual energy, as a counterpoise, which many Protestants feared, has been effectually hindered. The creation of a united Germany has annulled the Papal weight of France, and partially alienated Austria; and though the rash and ill-advised collision of the military German Empire with the Papacy has ended in repulse, the Papacy, as a dogmatic system, has gained nothing, and has concentrated opposition to its spiritual claims along the whole Protestant line. It is not easy to name a time in which all educated German thought, orthodox and rationalist alike, was more inaccessible to distinctively Romish doctrine; and though the political necessities have prompted Bismarck to repair, with awkward surgery, his own previous rough handling, the style of the new Emperor's recent visit to the imprisoned Pope, with a united and unsympathetic Italy looking on, has provoked in the Continental organs a comment upon the altered days since emperors held the Papal stirrup, and did penance to regain its most stinted absolution. The fall of Rome, all the more conspicuous for its unregarded thunders against its spoilers, and abortive demands of infallibility, is not redeemed by any bright conquest over the wide field of its warfare. Some will point to England, and to its accessions there, both by direct proselytism and by a wide-spread diffusion of a Romanised type of doctrine and ritual in regions beyond—due to the Tractarian movement. But while this fact is to be deplored, and estimated at its true gravity, it cannot be looked upon as more than an eddy upon the world-wide stream. A few men of genius and devotion, Cardinal Newman pre-eminent among them, have gone over to the Romish faith. They have added little to its distinctive theology, or shown any power to arrest its European decay; in fact, have risen to their highest greatness in what is not Romish, but common to universal Christianity. Proselytes like these were not easy to find; and the succession has long stopped. The subsequent influence, proceeding not so much from them as from others who more or less sympathised with them but halted at an earlier point, has no doubt been wide and visible, but it may be exaggerated. Not a few who are

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set down as secret Romanists would stop rather with Old Catholicism. Those who would go farther have been and are vigorously, though still too feebly, resisted. The Romanising movement has already developed a twofold recoil, partly to unbelief and partly towards a more earnest anti-Romish faith. It has wholly failed of impression beyond the Anglican Church. And the great mass of the laity, even there, have looked upon it in its more visibly Rome-ward features, with wonder, dislike or indifference, rather than with sympathy.

Equally unfounded is the idea that in America the progress of Rome compensates for its European failure. No doubt it is a serious fact that in the United States probably about seven millions acknowledge its sway. But they are only an eighth of the population, in which, as many of the highest authorities have testified, they ought by birth to have formed a far larger proportion. Nor is their allegiance to the central authority very close, as recent events have shown. Capable of affecting largely their own domestic politics, and even of taking aggressive action against American ideas of national education and similar questions, they have never been capable of entering into a world-wide Papal League, or of rallying to the far distant power by which they are professedly governed. The Ultramontane and mediæval spirit droops in an uncongenial atmosphere. Nor is there an American Romish literature (not to say theology) as there is a German; and the vast incoherent mass, made up of discordant nationalities, and unfused into any common type, is weak in proportion to its numbers, and even its material resources. Already at every point American Protestant theology is a great help to the older world, but the professed Catholic Church is here almost wholly dumb.

When we turn to the other half of the nominally Christian world, a scene of wonderful activity, both of thought and life, is opened up, which reduces the Romish field, vast as it outwardly is, to inertness and stagnation. Not that there is much controversy with Rome on the part of Protestants, or much direct effort at conversion of any kind. Controversy has even abated, since the Infallibility dogma seemed to bar

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more than ever all right to enquiry; and the Protestant Church has also learned to conduct any missions which it has here in the quietest and most noiseless manner. It is in the relation of Protestantism to other parties and topics that the astonishing activity, which has more and more marked its career, is to be found. This may be briefly surveyed under the three questions to which everything affecting Christianity itself as a religion may be referred. These are—What are its *evidences*, or *apologetics?* what is its *interpretation*, or *exegesis* and *dogmatics?* and what its application to life and work, or *Christian ethics?* It will be seen, I think, that the most vital, typical, and normal side of Christianity, the Protestant, at the end of the nineteenth century, though not without difficulties, as it is not without sins and faults, is also not without great victories in the past and hopes for the future.

Beginning with *apologetics*, there has been a great concession to Christianity, since the rough and supercilious strain of last century. The style of Woolston and Paine, and even of Voltaire, is only found in the lowest regions of unbelief. Whatever aspires to permanent literature or general recognition admits the grandeur of Christ's life and work, and its importance for the world. Strauss treats the Sermon on the Mount, before his own fall into atheism, as a true utterance of the Fatherhood of God. Rénan regards Christianity as so great a system that it almost necessarily, according to the laws of the universe, created false miracles, which were not ill bestowed in achieving its reception. Baur labours as a reconstructor of Christianity about which, after the death of Christ, its secondary founders disagreed. These writers had all to grapple with the problem of the supernatural, and account for the origin and success of Christianity without it. The failure of such men has added to the strength of Christianity. The mythical theory of Strauss, on which he laboured for a quarter of a century, was virtually abandoned by himself, with none to claim it. The necessary illusion scheme of Rénan has faded into the dimness of his already decaying *Origins of Christianity*. The position of Baur also has been weakened by the wide non-

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acceptance of his datum as to successive formations and tendencies in Christianity, and not less by his confession that the Resurrection is an unsolved mystery. Thus the most strenuous effort which the anti-supernaturalist school has ever made remains behind us, the basis of Christianity unshaken, and the weapons of attack either broken or flung away. It is not denied that the criticism of the Gospels, and the construction of early Christian history, have profited by these combats, but it is with the defenders that these lessons remain, while those who are unhappily "of the contrary part" see their materials built into the very structure which they laboured to overthrow. Some of these results are, the general admission of early dates for the Gospels, and the uncontested place of so many of the Pauline Epistles and of the Apocalypse. Works like Greg's *Creed of Christendom* and *Supernatural Religion* could hardly be written over again, if they were still to begin.

Much more could be said in regard to the apologetics of Christianity proper, which has strengthened itself in other fields; but a word may be added as to the state of the conflict on a ground even deeper than that of Christianity,—the apologetics of Theism. The French Revolution did not produce in wide circles so shattering an effect upon faith in God as upon faith in Christ, even some of the movement party clinging to Theism; and with the revival of Christianity, Theism naturally gained till Atheism had largely dropped out of sight. The critical philosophy of Kant also, though unjust to the speculative argument for Theism, had left it on its moral side credible and even necessary, and had thus, amidst the declension of his successors towards Pantheism, encouraged, with other influences, a Theistic belief. Partly through the failure of Theism to go on to Christianity, partly through the recoil from Pantheism, when it broke down into its opposite in Materialism, and partly from the congeniality of Materialism itself to human nature, which makes it an ever-recurrent element in science and philosophy, we find during the last fifty years a wide return to a sensationalist scheme of things, with matter as original and supreme, to the exclusion of God. Of these tendencies, favoured by the march of physical science, the Comtist or Posi-

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tive philosophy, poorly redeemed by a fantastic religion of humanity at the summit, is the outgrowth, with other types containing perhaps less knowledge and equal dogmatism. This dogmatism however does not hinder Materialism in some of its forms from denying any knowledge of the infinite in itself, and being reinforced by the idealism that is unwilling to wrap up its fortunes with Pantheism—the united body, with a contingent from scepticism, take refuge in Agnosticism. Here, however, there is no real halting ground against the Theistic conclusion. The sceptical element is not entitled to affirm a doctrinal creed, which Agnosticism really is. The idealist has already granted knowledge above sense, and can only inconsistently exclude this special part of it, which connects with God. Nor can the materialist, who goes back to eternal force or matter (whichever of the two), to inexplicable motion, and to a process involving stupendous mystery, deny that as much may be known of God, however unfathomable, as of matter. By arguments like these, with others, our Theism has, as before, fully kept its ground, nor has anything been gained for the opposite side by an illogical endeavour to ally the more recent hypothesis of Evolution with Atheism. If Evolution be limited to Biology, it no more excludes final causes than the ordinary argument from design, for it becomes only a path by which design is worked out. If, as by Herbert Spencer, Evolution be made the formula of a universal cosmic philosophy, there returns, with an Unknowable in the far distance, a virtual *prima materia*, unable by the dreary clank of an endless motion to evolve the universe, as we phenomenally know it, up to man. Thus Theism still remains to us, barring the paradox in science, that what requires mind to explore required no mind to originate, satisfying alike the need of worship, and the hope of immortality, and preparing for the re-assertion and re-enforcement of Theism in a revelation, which expands all the lessons of nature, and adds on others too wonderful to have been invented, but in harmony with the claim, "ye believe in God, believe also in Me."

When we turn to the *exegetical* and *dogmatic* side of

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Christian theology, we find much that, amidst apparent doubt and hesitation, confirms the impression made by apologetics. The very multiplication, beyond any former example, of exegetical literature, often of a high order for learning and hermeneutical skill, is a perpetual homage to the text; and not infrequently the Rationalist frankly grants that the received faith of the Christian world is nearer to the documents than his own. Of the same family with this immense mass of commentary are the products of the recently created science of Biblical Theology, which isolates the teaching of individual Bible writers, examines it in detail, and sums it up with any notices of real or alleged development. Here also those who do not stand upon any strict theory of inspiration, or even of general Christian faith, have taken part; and thus it is seen how the authors of Scripture reduced in authority, even to the level of Plato, have taught (speaking roundly) the distinctive Christian tenets associated with their names. The luminousness, the homogeneity, the self-asserting power of the Scripture writers has thus been of new verified; and while changes of date and authorship have been suggested and are under debate, it is remarkable how time here tends to be conservative rather than the opposite, and that, tested by internal evidence, not one book of Scripture would be held by the prevailing consensus of the Christian world to fall below the level of canonical literature.

The state of Christian doctrine is too large a subject to be taken up at the close of a paper. But here too there are, amidst tokens of *malaise* and insecurity, movements in a visibly positive direction. No one can doubt that, taken widely, the dogmatic theology of the Continent is more confessional than it was forty or fifty years ago. The work of Julius Müller on *Sin* has had a wide and deep influence. Dorner's views on the Trinity, in his *Scheme of Christian Doctrine*, 1879, are not easily distinguishable from those of Waterland or Liddon. Martensen and Van Oosterzee on the *Atonement* are as far beyond the moral theory as Dale. The outburst of the Luther jubilee brought numberless tributes to the doctrine of justification. It is in the region of Eschatology

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that in Germany as elsewhere most uncertainty, when tried by a former standard, still remains. Yet here a light and confident Universalism no longer reigns. Müller regards this as excluded by the doom of the sin against the Holy Ghost; and Luthardt, in a passage of great solemnity, records his adhesion to the ancient doctrine which, however slowly, is yet returning.

In no department perhaps more than in *Christian ethics* have the life and earnestness of a revived and truly progressive Christianity been conspicuous. Here the word "Christian ethics" must be taken in its widest sense. The mission of Christianity to reach, by the grace of the Holy Spirit, a higher type of sanctification for the individual than mere morality has been asserted, and in many quarters a higher Christian life has been urged. The adaptation of Christianity to the family, and the religious education of the young in the home and in the Sabbath-school, has been exhibited as never before in Christian history. While Socialism on its theoretic side has found no entrance, the obligation of the Christian Church to grapple with its problems —economic, moral and spiritual—has been acknowledged and dealt with, and the great work of building up a Christian civilisation, untainted by selfishness, jealousy, waste, and luxury, however imperfectly, has been amidst difficulty, reproach, and defeat, really carried forward. Temperance has been organised, legalised vice has been assailed and put to shame; and, in the commonwealth of nations, slavery has been more and more excommunicated; and war, though still spreading its terrible menace and burden, has been shorn of its glory and limited in its danger. Amidst such remedial agencies, stretching beyond the widest meaning of the word "home missions," these also in the narrower sense have been taken up, and prosecuted with an energy, a perseverance, and a success beyond all former precedent, and while they have not been sustained by those who have loved them most, for temporal ends, but for the salvation of souls, it has turned out that in their healing influence they have done for fallen masses unspeakably more than all the resources of law or of earth-born philanthropy. Equally beneficent,

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and for various reasons still more striking, have been the results of foreign missions in the largest field of applied Christianity in the whole world. It is only indeed as applied Christianity, as the effort of Christian love, feeling direct obligation to Christ and speaking His words in reliance upon His name,—so as, while including, to transcend all the appliances of civilisation, education and moral example, that these missions have succeeded, and constituted perhaps the greatest triumph of the Gospel in the nineteenth century. No one could attend the Centenary Missionary Conference in London in June last without seeing that here was the finger of God! What a contrast from the founding of the Baptist Missionary Society in Kettering in 1792, when the collection amounted to £13, 2s. 6d., and Carey had to go out in a Danish vessel! Here were the ends of the earth now come together, representing almost all Protestant churches, with their converts numbered by millions, with the Bible translated into 230 languages, the whole world opened up, and another century, with the same noiseless stream, ready to carry the wonder proportionately farther. In that remarkable assembly—the uncrowned heroes of the Christian faith—no one spoke of exhortation, but only of how better work could be done; or of unity, but only exemplified it even in a symbolic way, by using only the same English tongue. Here for once in the history of the world was something which made apologetics look superfluous, the task of criticism over-anxious, and the reconstruction of creeds a labour that could afford to wait. In secular changes through the century, God had spoken by whirlwind and earthquake and fire; but the world, though shaken, had remained much the same, as the blast does not metamorphose the rock that it rends, or turn the salt water of the sea into fresh. Here was the still, small voice to be heard with "fear and great joy." In this spirit may every Christian work of this century—and this Journal also—be begun and ended, and may writers and readers alike "go forth, and stand upon the mount before the Lord!"

JOHN CAIRNS.

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# WHAT IS THE SUPERNATURAL?

THE Supernatural, in its mystery and wonderfulness, has always been interesting as a subject for investigation, disputed as a reality, feared by unbelievers, and reverenced by the devout. Advanced scientific investigations prove that things strangest and most improbable—the impossibles of our age—are the ordinary events of another; and that the real includes all, or more than all, the most romantic can imagine.

Some confound belief in the Supernatural with that weak credulity to which all sorts of superstition concerning wonder-works, dreams, and unnatural things, are attracted.

A few scientists state: "Nature means neither more nor less than that which is; the sum of phenomena presented to our experience; the totality of events, past, present, and to come." This seems good, but really is bad. It says there is no supernatural at all: an assertion wholly incapable of proof.

God exists, but God is not nature. To speak of nature as including the cause of nature is like saying the builder of the house is the house. When accurate men talk of phenomena, they mean those appearances which represent things that in themselves do not appear; visibles shadowing forth the invisible; phenomena evidencing the unseen; things that are not of nature showing themselves by nature.

Nature is very much more than "the sum of phenomena presented to our experience." A man's experience is small indeed, and the experience of all men is but little more in comparison with the infinity of things not experienced.

The Professor's definition, meant to exclude the Supernatural, is not adequate. Nature is much more than all the mind can imagine, than all that the senses are able to experience. The definition, indeed, by the use of the word "phenomena," indicates that every natural thing, without exception, is the mask or guise of some other thing, which is the real, the supernatural. This Supernatural is the cause of



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all that is, pervades all that is—the essence, moving, and maintaining power. It crosses nature in every part, always and everywhere. This has been proved by many processes of reasoning, and thousands of facts in our work, *The Supernatural in Nature.*

A sort of bird's-eye view shall now exhibit the Supernatural, not as a rarely entertained guest in the household of nature, but as the ever-abiding host and proprietor—the essence of all matter, of all force, of all motion.

### THE SUPERNATURAL IN MATTER.

The elements or constituents of matter at present known are about seventy. The various forms of matter consist of these elements in definite proportions. What it is, or what they are, no one is able to say further than this—they are vehicles of force. Matter is not known apart from force, nor force apart from matter; but there are experiments which warrant the assertion that matter in its ultimate form is a real being—a carriage of which, so to speak, force is the driver.

Some forms of matter, though made of the same constituents, and in the self-same proportions, are greatly different in their physical and chemical properties. Arrangement of the particles in one way produces deadly poison. The same sort of particles, and identical proportions otherwise disposed, tend to life. There are special conditions, for the likeness of daisy to bee, and of bee to bee. There is evidence of a continual going forth from the unseen to the seen, from the supernatural to the natural, which renders the universe an enchanted valley. The known forms of matter are a mere condition of energy or force *in loco;* all material causes are acknowledged as the outcome and differentiation of energy; and whether matter takes the shape of solid, or liquid or gas, is a question of temperature and pressure.

Every sort of matter, and all its forms, even when apparently most quiescent, is moving on itself and in itself by molecular activity. The average distance between the several particles of a gas, at the ordinary temperature, is something about the six-millionth part of an inch and the ten-millionth.

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The number of particles in a cubic inch of air is about the number three with twenty cyphers after it, that is, 100,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000. In a mass of hydrogen, at ordinary temperature and pressure, every particle averages 71,700,000,000 collisions the second, with other particles. Its course is deflected 17,700,000,000 times, and it moves at the rate of seventy miles in the minute. When rude voices say, "The Lord never passes by; not in the wind, not in the earthquake, not in the still, small voice;" we cannot but marvel that the mystic maze in which these tiny atoms run, with their occult powers, giving form to the worldly structure, and raising it storey above storey, with chambers of every dimension, furniture and embellishment, does not fill men with reverential awe of that Eternal Power, acknowledged by every accurate and comprehensive man of science, as the cause of these wonderful phenomena. We recognise a vast, an incomprehensible mingling of forces and substances to accomplish some great teleological purpose, by which the universe is a house of discipline to prepare sojourners for the eternal future. Splendour, from galaxies of stars afar off, arrives at the earth in widely separated intervals. It brings life and strength to our frames, it quickens and gladdens our minds. It comes from other worlds, other natures, as a symbol and promise of knowledge concerning wonders beyond the veil. We read it as an assurance that when the grass withers and earthly flowers fail there is another light, another life, another glory.

Probably, matter in all its varieties, and its molecules in all their mysteries, are due to one substance; simpler, yet so comprehensive that its potentialities were the sign and assurance of worlds to come. Differentiation of this substance would give birth to the so-called elements—dense invisible units. The grouping of these complex units—particles of specific weight, size, elasticity, affinity, differences of quality, with chronometric vibrations—account for the suns, the stars, and all that in them is. These many worlds, and all they contain, far from exhausting the forms, combinations, and conditions of force which the elements are capable of—only use a few: silicon, aluminium, iron, magnesium, sodium, chlorine,

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potassium, oxygen, hydrogen, nitrogen, carbon, are in chief request. The possibilities of use, as to those now little used, are illimitable. Materials for innumerable surprises are around us. We know not what will be, nor what we ourselves may be, in the indicated coming enlargement and beautifying of nature. At present only a few and rudimentary stages have been passed. The charming music has been wrought by the impinging of unseen influences on a few notes of the minor scale. The Eternal Power, whose Person combines Will, Wisdom, and Might, will awake ravishing melodies when He touches all the chords. Our mental eye now discerns the Supernatural in everything; but when the physical eye has received that improvement of which we know it to be capable, we shall, having been made like God, see Him as He is (1 John iii. 2).

### THE SUPERNATURAL IN FORCE.

Force embraces the universe, is in every atom, and pierces every point in space. Force, though invisible, is the great revealer. Becoming concrete or materialised in the primal substance, it was then differentiated in or into the atoms. These atoms, pregnant every one with its own force or forces, are that almost infinitesimal manifestation of the Almighty and Infinite, of which matter and space are capable. They are microscopic manifestation of the Supernatural, of whom nature, as a whole, is the vastest known revelation.

We know certainly as to differentiation of forces, diversity separating the minutest from the greatest, by means of these atoms; and we not less surely know concerning the unity of forces, by the comprehensiveness and similarity binding all lives into one life, and all worlds into one universe. Eternal Energy, differentiating into variety, gives spontaneity to every natural process; and Eternal Energy, gathering every process into subservience to one rule, fills all parts with that supernaturalness which is perfectly natural. Every step we take in investigation enlarges our admiration of the beauty of the adaptation and the harmony of all action. In this beauty we recognise the wisdom and power of the Eternal.

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It is sufficiently accurate to say energy is the power to do work, and is of two kinds; that of position; and that of motion, force exerted through space. Energy of position means that a body is placed where the force is potential, as in a raised weight, a head of water, gunpowder, food. Energy of motion is force expressing the rate or speed at which any change takes place in matter. There is good reason to believe that all the various energies of nature, light, heat, electricity, magnetism, etc., are derived from different kinds of molecular motion. These motions are not self-existent nor essential properties of matter. Every one is natural, not, so far as we know, a product of unaided nature, but a sign of the Eternal Power—the Supernatural.

Physical science, speaking humanly, says the matter and forces of the universe are permanent and eternal. We do not find any essential cause in nature which can either create or annihilate matter and force. Causation is the will, creation is the act of God. Science, philosophy, religion, unite in declaring that all matter, every force, changes moment by moment, and enters other states, other places; and worlds die as individuals die. These, becoming as though they were not, do not actually cease; they take new shapes and relationships in other surroundings. The worlds waxing, waning, dying, are used again in new creations. The seen is always passing into the unseen, and the unseen enters the seen. There is a sort of border land, or transitive condition, between nature and that which is not nature, between the natural and the supernatural. In one sense, as Solomon said, "There is nothing new under the sun;" but, beneath the apparent immutability, incessant transference and conversion, by differentiation of the one primeval energy, give infinite variety of appearance. The sum of energies is constant; but the line of direction, as to every force, changes every moment. The total may be said never to vary, it is summed up in God. The differentiations, the applications, the display of phenomena, the manifestations of life, are ever varying modulations of eternal rhythm. The Eternal Energy gives all things to nature, and from this gift we cannot take anything away.

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No force can be proved to be merely mechanical, yet take a purely mechanical view. Nature is a chain of cause and effect, in which there is no missing link. Gravitation proves that the hosts of heaven and the things of earth are parts of one great complex arrangement. Our mind sufficiently expanded, would be able to follow natural processes from beginning to end. Given a grain of wheat, an acorn, an infant, and their surroundings, we could prognosticate the whole process of growth in terms of matter and force. Even on these purely mechanical principles, we have greatly to obliterate the strongly-marked mechanical, chemical, and other differences, which we thought were variously exemplified in a rock, a crystal, a tree, a cow. Sometimes it is a matter of doubt whether a given organism is a vegetable or an animal; and, in one case at least, the same organism is both animal and vegetable at different periods of its history. Every phenomenon, therefore, as to its essence, is something more than merely mechanical, or chemical, or vital, as so thought; but the manifestation of a Power including all, and more than all. Thus we are led to the conception of an all-present, all-prevalent energy, working all things—the Supernatural in nature.

How the inscrutable, the not-to-be-looked-at, is made plain, so as to be seen, yet not seen, is a mystery. What of that? Mysteries are everywhere. Men know, and do not know at the same time. The finite only knows in part, and does not know in greater part. In one yet manifold sense, the Cause of all made all, but makes nothing now; seems, as J. S. Mill said, "a non-cause." In other senses He is the doer of all, by that sustaining influence which is new creation every moment. "The trees do not sweep the stars down," the plants creep sunward, the atoms are endowed with a finite minimum of the Infinite in the infinitesimal. He who will not know this, who refuses to retain God in his knowledge, professing to be wise, becomes a fool (Rom. i. 21, 22). The gods curse deluders for wilfully telling others the wrong road.

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## THE SUPERNATURAL IN MOTION.

Nature, as a whole, is made up of individual natures; and there is a process by which some attain a higher nature. Nature exceeds nature; there are many supernatures. Movement of this kind is like, yet unlike ordinary motion. Ordinary motions may be studied in the transactions of daily life, and the best science primers are sufficiently exact for our guidance. Supernatural motion is that in which the Eternal, the Absolute, the Infinite, brought Himself into relation with time, finite existence, and space. The further differentiating manifestations of the Eternal Energy, are those natural but incomprehensible forces by which we have mechanical, chemical, vital, sentient, intellectual, volitional processes.

Movements in the air rise above mere noise into musical notes, which gladden and exalt us while we listen to sacred melodies and sublime anthems. Motions in the ether, impinging on our retina, convey other motions to the brain, and impart the sense of light. Our other senses, acted on by various motions, awake our consciousness. The material eye and ear give work to the mental eye and ear—these influence the volitional and moral. The body, in itself, would be sensual only, if not elevated by the soul and spirit. Flesh, formed and informed by the soul, receives spirit—is man. Flesh, soul, spirit, are separable elements; the separableness being rather of condition and power than of space. Man is not three persons, but one person; he has not three lives, but one life; his three natures form one individual. To this fact, apart from Holy Scripture, we attribute human consciousness of God: as Trinity in Unity, and Unity in Trinity.

Suppose you have power to reduce the earth to something like its original nothingness. Imagine that you separate a space, to be as a kind of box, from the surrounding infinitude. At one end of the space make a hole, and affix over it a tightly stretched compact cloud. On the floor of your space sprinkle a strong solution of ammonia, and then convey within the space some common salt as in a dish. Over the salt pour sulphuric acid of commerce. The ammoniacal gas



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and muriatic gas combine to form sal-ammoniac; the particles become visible, and hang like smoke. Now, remove the cloud, give a smart sudden blow to the opposite end of the box: the blow causes the contents to issue as a circular vortex ring, which moves about like an independent solid. If the infinitude around your space were perfectly without friction, that vortex-ring would move about for ever; and the portion of fluid containing the smoke would remain for ever the same set of particles.

In fancies of this kind men of science, helped by experiments, obtain conceptions as to the framing of worlds. Sir William Thomson supposes that the universe is full of a perfect fluid, something not like matter, yet really matter; and that the property of rotation may be the basis of whatever appeals to our senses as matter. Does this mechanical theory afford a natural explanation of the origin and continuance of things apart from the supernatural? Certainly not. As in experiment there must be will and power, so in creation. The equilibrium of a perfect fluid, if there was one, could not be self-disturbed. The power imparting the energy of motion came from without, acting as a supernatural within. Apart from it could be no motion of any kind, no vortex-ring.

Science warrants our belief that existing worlds are not the first nor the last. Probably, also, there are other and more wonderful worlds than we know. Our view of things extends but a hand's-breadth. No part of nature was complete in itself: it rested on something infinitely beyond. Present nature is not complete in itself: it came from an immeasurable past, it enters an illimitable future. The whole of existing nature is inadequate to explain any, even the smallest part of it. The smallest part, fully explained, would account for the whole. Every material thing and state is passing into other states and different forms. Language cannot express those plans of the worlds which science and thought reveal. The seen is only a small and temporary phase of immeasurable changes. Innumerable changes, wrought by energy from the Supernatural, are a prelude to more glorious manifestations. Every moment of time represents the work of Eternity in an

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instantaneous aspect of infinite extension. Every point of space contains an infinitesimal miniature of Him, whose own consciousness alone knows His Infinitude. If we unrobe ourselves of the body, but with the same human heart and spirit depart, as in company with an angel, into endless space, manifold will be our experience. Sometimes we pass through realms of darkness separated by wildernesses of death from worlds of life. Sometimes we are where the influence of God begins great works of light and life. We feel rather than see, and imagine rather than think. Traversing distances immeasurable, with speed swifter than light, realms come to us rather than we go to them. The rushings of planets, the whirls of suns, are left behind for eternities of twilight revealing, but not revealed. We scale heights where constellations are as gates with archways and architraves very wonderful. Substances possess self-rule, will is the gravitating power. Depth is canopied by height insurmountable, beneath all height is depth unfathomable. Our thought goes from infinity to infinity: systems more mysterious, worlds more billowy, heights and depths more magnificent, are near at hand, but in the ecstacy of wonder and joy we weep. Human spirit fails: of the eternity, the infinity, the majesty, the glory, there is no end. End and beginning are both in God: apart from Him is nothing, in Him is all. The natural and the supernatural are both one. Angel nor archangel can separate either from the other. Nature is the reflex of a supernature, in both God is revealed as over all, blessed for ever.

### THE SUPERNATURAL IN MAN.

The sort of thing given by shallow materialism is that originally men crept out of the earth, a dumb and filthy herd, who imperceptibly rising above the brutal state, attained after immeasurable time nobleness of mind. Before and during the transition they were not men, nor spiritual, nor immortal; differing from other creatures only as one brute from another brute. Even now they lie down with a dog-twist; they laugh as the hyenas, sing as the mocking-bird, weep as the crocodile, and their speech is taken from animal cries.

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Really, some clever men are making fun of us; and a great many simpletons take the joke in earnest, and begin to behave as were they not much better than monkeys. Now suppose this folly to be wisdom, it is clear that human nature surpassed and surpasses every other nature, worked miracles in comparison with what other creatures wrought, is supernatural as to these naturals. Every human excellence is opposed to brutality, and could not come from the brute. Courage mounting to heroism, modesty, self-control, knowledge and worship of God, are not a brutal offspring.

No teacher, no system of culture, raised, or ever will raise, a differentiated brute into equality with man; though some men make themselves brutish. No facts plant a paradise on brutality, many show that a paradise may be turned into a wilderness. There is no reliable evidence that any inferior animal grew, or could be made to grow, into a superior creature. Time does not transform a plant into an animal, and then elevate the animal into a man. Physical organs of speech did not create language; but as life makes the organism, the special potentialities of human life fashioned organs which gave utterance to thoughts that poured themselves forth in speech. Man was man when he first spoke, as lion is lion when he begins to roar. Animals most like men do not speak at all; only those creatures, such as parrots, in whose vocal organs it is not easy to trace the cause of the faculty. An ancient statue of Chephra, the Phra or Pharaoh of the fourth dynasty, is of features not less refined and intellectual than those of any modern European. The king lived 4200 B.C. There are no signs of brutal ancestry. Advanced science, investigation pushed furthest, warrant the theory and practice of physicians that in dealing wisely with their patients, all notions however plausible, and theories, no matter how clever, which reduce man to a level with the beast, must be put away.

Vast time is not required for effecting wonders. The caterpillar becomes a chrysalis, a moth—every change is a marvel; no man is able to explain the manifold development, in a very little time, of this one tiny creature. Take man—

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there is the dead inorganic substance made organic; there is life given by precedent life, the growth of the fœtus, the birth of a perfect child. In less than a year inorganic substance becomes organic—the dead is made to live, the unconscious becomes sentient, the miniature frame is a perfect likeness, and in the little man are the potential powers of one who may move the world. Were not this well known, we could not believe it. We do not require infinite time for the work of great processes. The history of all the past is re-written every moment. The natural partakes of the supernatural in every part. By expenditure of the same heat, phosphorus, blood, different results are produced in the brains of Marat, of Howard, of Napoleon, of Milton. The differences are as light and darkness, of good and evil.

Practical men know that brutes never did, and never will, acquire the creative power of genius; the peculiar insight which characterises the discoverer, a poet, an artist. Shakespeare's genius is not by reflex action of canine cleverness. The physical frame does not represent, approximately, man's essential nature. Human mind is both meeting place and condition of the material and spiritual, in which men form conceptions of both and correlate their energies. The faculties of this mind are not the product of somewhat peculiar in the organism, they represent that transcendental influence by which they and the organism are peculiar. Genius is not the sum total of material definite tendencies, like the sweetness of sugar. It is due to a potentiality not found in any brute, of what becomes cognitive, responsible, moral, religious, in high degree. By inner and outer means and uses, relations, obscure to physical sense, are detected; the supra-sensible being got at analytically by analysis of analysis. We have something natural, a scale of stairs, by which we ascend to the Supernatural.

### FIRST STEP OF THE STAIRS.

The tree of knowledge which tried our parents grows now for our probation. We have not only progressive and improvable reason, but that higher consciousness of which soul is the place, and our whole man the learner. Soul is the

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external aspect of the spirit, spirit is the internal aspect of the soul; or, as the body is to soul, so is soul to spirit. In use of the divinity in us, we have a sense of nearness to the Master Intellect, the Oversoul, the Father of our spirit. By neglect we become wicked. Growth of wickedness projects horrible wretchedness into the present, and fearfully darkens the future. Moral and spiritual laws are not less real and certain than the physical. Their effects may be likened to thrills of the earth, seen and measured in a magnetic mirror. We may be holy like the apostles, or be as demons. We may take all our tone and movement from God, be new creations; or bring ourselves into that chaotic state which represents dark turmoil, tempest tossed by viewless winds.

## THE SECOND STEP.

Physical science detects in nature certain signs which indicate that the Eternal Power is working by that determinate causation which is the root of definite and teleological order. No chance, no accident, no fate, disturbs the actions of intelligibly arranged forces and distributions of matter. Science finds law everywhere. Law, in a scientific sense, means the order with which certain series of phenomena succeed one another. Laws, when we speak of the universe, mean the general way in which the Supreme Ruler acts. We are thankful that, understanding these laws, we think the thoughts of God, or know the mode in which He governs. The human mind is accurate, though limited, in its verified convictions. Its processes of mathematical deduction formulate the activities of forces; the distribution and redistribution of matter; the arrangements for origin, maintenance, development, and transfer of life; not omitting the more complex actions of free intelligence. So true is human intelligence, so accurate is law, that every man of exact science, Christian or unbeliever, agrees in regarding the totality of events as a revelation of the eternal unknown. Natural phenomena are a representation of the Supernatural.

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THE THIRD STEP.

The Eternal, the Absolute, bringing Himself into relation with time, space, things, is not imprisoned therein. He blends all existence into one grand unity — the greatest known revelation to intelligent beings. There are processes, fine and intermittent, ordinary and extraordinary, natural, yet surpassing common nature, which only the most experienced and wise can grasp and formulate. Men, thus experienced, discern some of the operations by which the invisible becomes visible; by which the fabric of the stellar systems had their origins and locations in time and space; by which there are new things; by which the earth, never precisely the same day by day, passed from chaos to cosmos; from death to life,—ever growing wider in range, until the physical was dominated by man's intelligence, and intelligence by moral law. These, greater and greatest men, are the heroes of science, of mental and moral effort, of insight and prevision, of constructive imagination, and creative genius. Sometimes in the twinkling of an eye long processes of thought, whole ages of experience and ideas, pass into one grand discovery. Realisations of the Eternal's power, love, wisdom, are so delighted in that Heaven seems to open. The vastest material catastrophes are explainable; so are the sudden risings and manifestations in one individual of surpassing genius. All is natural, with a Supernatural touch. There is not a particle of matter, not one point in space, that does not give an epitome of the Supernatural in ordinary and extraordinary guise. That perfection of character, that surpassing mental energy, that spotless purity, that Divinity of Person constituting Jesus Christ; the hinge of the earth's destiny, the explanation, the saving, the regeneration of the world, was divinely natural and divinely Supernatural. In Him our flesh, our soul, our spirit, know God—bodily, as our loving Father. The vast revelation of the Almighty, at which we wonder in the universe, is made personal, loving, most intimate in the Saviour. Flesh of our flesh, Bone of our bone, Spirit of our spirit, He is God in us—God over all, blessed for ever; that natural exhibition of the Supernatural in which we most delight. JOSEPH W. REYNOLDS.

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# SCEPTICAL NOVELS BY WOMEN.

## No. I.

## *ROBERT ELSMERE.*

### PART I.

IT is not often that a novel gives rise to articles in such periodicals as the *Nineteenth Century* and the *Contemporary.* Still less frequently does the title of a novel become the text in many pulpits. Yet *Robert Elsmere* has obtained this double distinction.

Clearly it has some claim to be considered with matters of grave and solemn import. This indeed is true of some other romances which have appeared of late years, as *Les Misérables*, *Middlemarch*, *Daniel Deronda*, *Donovan*, *We Two*, and *John Inglesant;* though I do not remember that any of these gained equal attention from the religious world. Nor is the reason far to seek. *Robert Elsmere* sets forth in an extremely attractive form, and with great mental and moral energy, views which are either entertained by many thoughtful men and thoughtful *women*, or cause them much anxiety and many searchings of heart.

I say "thoughtful men and thoughtful *women.*" This novel is written by a woman, Mrs. Humphry Ward, and though I had no such intention in selecting them, one cannot help noting that out of the six romances just named no less than four issued from the pens of the gentler sex. This feminine handling of difficult topics is, indeed, one of the most marked features of the age, and demands the very gravest consideration. I have long reflected on it, but cannot deal now with all the conclusions which should, I fancy, be drawn from so striking a mental phenomenon.



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This much, however, may be said: there is no reason to be alarmed by this new symptom of seething thought. Surely Christianity has in no way suffered from what "George Eliot" or "Edna Lyall" have written. That one writer was *not* a Christian, and that the other *is*, does not affect what I think few would care to deny—that the works of both have, somehow or other, on the whole, made, independently of the special intentions of the authoress, for that righteousness which seems to be found only in Christian lands.

And this is at least equally true of Mrs. Humphry Ward. I regard *Robert Elsmere* as really a witness to Christ. I do not in the least overlook that the main object of the authoress is to set forth her belief that orthodox Christianity is untenable, and that the sooner the fact is recognised the better. Yet, as it seems to me, she has in the end, though quite unconsciously, blessed it altogether—unwittingly indeed, but not the less effectually. This will, I hope, appear more and more clearly as we proceed with our exposition of the tone and the argument.

But as to the general position, why should we be surprised? Such women as we are speaking of live in an atmosphere profoundly charged with Christianity. Hence much which is called infidelity is, in its real essence, Christian truth, which the fortunate possessor has, in unfortunate haste, wrongly labelled. Consider the position in such cases—a woman of high culture, of refined mind, of noble aspirations, of tender love, of ready sympathy. Can we be surprised if, in the strife of tongues, philosophical, scientific, critical, theological, she should go intellectually astray? Can we wonder if, in a sensitive allegiance to what she deems to be the voice of truth; if in generous fellow-feeling for those who, from misfortune mingled with fault, have gone to the wall; if in quick sensibility to note the sufferings, the injustice, the discordant cries of this most mysterious world, she sometimes relaxes her intellectual hold on the Cross of the Redeemer. But she writes out of a full heart, and while we condemn her logic and reject her theological inferences as most inconclusive, we may venture to hope that she is true to Christ in her inner soul.

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Considerable exception has been taken by many to Apologetics being discussed at all in the pages of a novel. To some minds there is only one fit medium for these discussions, viz., solid and learned treatises, every sentence of which is capable of being thrown into the form of a syllogism. I altogether dissent from that view. Indeed I cannot with any consistency do otherwise, as the leading conception of evidential methods which I have already set forth in two series of *Boyle Lectures* in 1887-1888 (and which I hope to still further enforce and illustrate in the concluding course this year), is utterly opposed to that which deals with them on a purely logical basis.

Christianity is a matter concerning *man as man*, and man's intellect is not the whole, nor even the chief element in human nature—not to add that syllogisms express but a small part of that part.

Christianity appeals, or it would be a failure as far as man is concerned, to *every* part of human nature; to man's intellect it is true, but not less to his affections and his will, and much more to his conscience.

Each of these has a right to speak, and, as a matter of fact, does speak, the conscience being the foreman in the jury of human nature; and the verdict that will prevail is the united verdict of all the elements which, combined, make man to be man. The more purely intellectual our view of Christianity is, the less forcible and the more partial *must* the decision be, whether for or against; the more inclusively human our view, the more weighty and adequate will be the conclusion.

And from this I draw the inference that, if we can find a medium for dealing with evidences which shall be as vitally and inclusively human as possible, that will be the best medium; and strange as it may sound, I am inclined to hold that, second only to history and biography, which set before us, on a large and on a small scale, human nature as it is, there is no better medium for Apologetics than a really good novel, which honestly desires to hold the mirror up to nature.

Mr. Andrew Lang's *Theological Romances* in the *Contem-*

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*porary Review* of June 1888, was an able article, crammed full of thought, and, if a trifle irreverent in outward expression, was pregnant with faith in the power of religion and in the future of Christianity. It was fully as keen a criticism of *Robert Elsmere* as Mr. Gladstone's more celebrated article in the *Nineteenth Century* of May 1888. Well Mr. Lang wrote, "But mixed up with flirtations, thought-reading, social questions, scenery, tea-parties, and other materials of fiction, theology seems hardly in its proper place. Yet, as a matter of fact, people's lives are made up of all these and other 'factors,' as the author of *Robert Elsmere* likes to call them, and there is therefore warrant enough for combining them in a novel" (p. 815).

I am glad to quote these words of a very able man, confirming my view as to the appropriateness of a romance as a medium for Religion and Apologetics. I ought to say that the Rev. Spencer Jones, in a late number of *Church Bells* (November 9, 1888), has written very thoughtfully in an opposite direction. And I may add that, while I still adhere to this view of theological romances, which I have held for some time, I am very well aware of the objections which may be raised—objections which, when urged upon me by friends whom I greatly esteem, have been accompanied by statements of the distress and trouble *Robert Elsmere* is known to have caused in many cases.

I write, therefore, with a due, nay, an increasing sense of my responsibility in this matter. Many of my readers will naturally say, "Is there not a danger in approaching these great problems, when we bring other faculties than keen logic and cold criticism? Is there not a liability of the reader being carried away by his interest in the characters, which puts him off his guard? Is there not some fear of our being misled by our kindled and stirred emotions?"

Indeed there is. *But then human life itself is all through in just the same position.* And yet our Heavenly Father has in His wisdom been pleased to make us men, not intellectual machines grinding out logical processes.

For my own part, I feel sure it is in exact proportion

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as we bring much or little of our human nature to Christ. I of course suppose that, whether we bring much or little, we do so in a humble and reverent spirit, that we shall fully, or only partially, be drawn in living faith to Him.

It may be observed in passing, though the thought deserves more than passing notice, that the Bible itself is much more after the pattern of a romance than after that of a manual of logic, or a tome of theology.

But whatever may be the final conclusions of wise and thoughtful men on a view, which can hardly escape severe criticism, the fact remains that evidential questions *are* discussed in the pages of novels, and that for every one person who peruses the manual of logic or the tome of theology, one hundred at least devour the romance.

Months ago I was told, on good authority, that the leading London library had some 1500 copies of *Robert Elsmere* in circulation; and while I do not vouch for the exact numerical accuracy of the statement, it is most significant and striking. And at this very time there are two other stories, viz., *The Story of an African Farm*, and *John Ward, Preacher*, which would be at least equally dangerous and forcible as indictments against Christianity, were they equally read. Both of these also have been written by women.

What sort of a novel is *Robert Elsmere?* Certainly one of a very noble type, and possessing rare merit in its portraiture and description of natural scenery. It is somewhat heavy; it contains too much food for thought, too much of the inner workings of great souls to be light reading; it is perhaps too heavily freighted to fulfil the conception of what an ideal novel should be.

On one particular aspect of *Robert Elsmere*, as a novel, Mr. Gladstone has commented adversely. He regards the introduction of Rose, the semi-heathen sister of the profoundly religious Catherine, as over-weighting the story. "The reader of these volumes," he says, "may be apt to say that in working two such lives, as those of Catherine and Rose, through so many stages, the authoress has departed from previous example, and has loaded her ship, though a gallant one,

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with more cargo than it will bear."—*Nineteenth Century*, May 1888, p. 771. With all respect, I venture to differ from the criticism of the ex-premier. I consider the introduction of Rose a piece of rare art on the part of the authoress. I regard it as something like—only it seems to be so very rude to a charming young beauty to say so—something like the introduction of the gravediggers in *Hamlet*. Were it not for Rose, for the immense relief from mental and moral strain thus afforded by turning away from the struggles of conscience in Robert and his wife, to one's half-amused, half-indignant consideration of a fair survival of Paganism—were it not for this, I doubt whether the good ship would not founder before it reached port.

Mr. Gladstone suggests that the overcrowding of the canvas may be due to the desire to represent "the mainsprings of action which mark the life of the period" (pp. 771, 2). I should not venture to question this, because there is much that makes for that explanation. But there is this against it. There is a tendency in these days to make Art and Philosophy rank as equal factors with Morality in human life; at anyrate, to regard art and philosophy as independent of morality. To use Goethe's phrase, we can deal with "the beautiful, the whole, and the good." (See *Through Nature to Christ*, pp. 299 and 327, and *Natural Religion*.) I hardly like to quote the statement, it was so wild, but a clergyman the other day said to me that he thought Rose as much a Christian as Catherine. I need hardly add that he is a man of the most extreme views on such matters; still the fact remains that the statement was made, and made in all good faith.

Now, I must confess that when I read the first volume of *Robert Elsmere*, knowing that the novel was distinctly unorthodox, I formed the conception that the authoress would so work out the plot that the artistic yearnings of Rose would seem to have as much claim for room to develop in human life as the spiritual aspirations of Catherine. The second and third volumes by no means justified the expectation. It would be absurd for any one to compare the fortunes

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of Rose and Langham and Roger Wendover with those of Catherine and Robert. We may therefore account for the introduction of Rose by one of two reasons animating the writer. Either, as Mr. Gladstone supposes, she wished to omit none of the features of modern society; or, as I have suggested, she adopted a wise artifice to save the vessel from foundering. There is, however, a third explanation, more akin to Mr. Gladstone's view than mine, that she would have made attractive "the New Paganism" (to use a fine phrase of the Primate, in a Church Congress sermon, preached when he was still Bishop of Truro), if she could, but that she failed because all the forces within her were working against Goethe's theory, and for the Christian theory; and that, in spite of her philosophical conception of the Whole, the Beautiful, and the Good—the Beautiful, as set forth in Rose, the Whole in Langham and "the Squire," and the Good in Catherine and Robert—she was compelled by every higher feeling to exalt the Good far and away above the Beautiful and the Whole.

But in what way soever all this may have come about, it is much to be noted, and is a cause for devout thankfulness, that Mrs. Ward has made us see how infinitely lower are the pursuit of the Beautiful and the search for the Whole, than strivings after the Good. We can only admit Rose into our regard when we find her drawn more and more to what is noble—when we find her sense of the Beautiful visibly subordinated to the claims of the Good.

Then how miserably vain is the purely intellectual aspect of culture in poor Langham. He is a satire on a mere search for an all-inclusive philosophy. His humanity is so limp and so bloodless that he seems a veritable ghost as he flits across the path of the other actors in the drama.

Indeed, I think Mrs. Ward has been too severe on the effects of philosophising, for she herself was the translator of a deeply interesting book, the *Journal Intime* of Henri Frederic Amiel, between whom and Langham there is a great likeness, so great that I cannot doubt that Mrs. Ward had Amiel in her mind when she was depicting Langham; yet Amiel was a man of true nobility, while Langham was a mere shadow.

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Was this due to the fact that Amiel, as Mr. Gladstone points out (p. 788), had so keen a sense of the reality and dreadfulness of *sin?* The enormous importance of which—that is, the sense of the sinfulness of sin—the ex-premier enforces in his article on *Robert Elsmere*, as he did years ago in an article on the Prince Consort (see vol. i. of his *Gleanings*) with a fervour and intensity, for which I for one am deeply grateful to him. But Langham, for all his self-distrust and wish to do what was right, is represented as almost destitute of what may be called a Christian conscience.

How very noble is the moral ideal of Mrs. Ward, how naturally she inclines to all that is lovely and of good report, is shown by the extremely unamiable guise in which she depicts the non-Christian characters of her story, if we are right in identifying Christianity and goodness. I have referred to Rose and Langham. I do not know that Madame de Netteville need be reckoned, and I will only say a few words on the strange social intimacy between her and the hero of the story. It seems a blot upon its pages that so noble and really pure-minded a man should have been led into a position, suggesting to an outsider the possibility of a *liaison* with a woman, whose brilliant degradation was that of a Frenchwoman of the most abandoned *salon* type. I do not think that his Irish blood would account for his seemingly inexcusable conduct, accompanied as it was by neglect of Catherine. Rather, that such an episode should have been thought possible implies a sad laxity of conduct, one of the least pleasant aspects of an age which, because it is sceptical, has broken down many moral landmarks.

For our present purpose it is not perhaps amiss to point out that Robert was peculiarly strong on his emotional side, and as weak intellectually in all that has to do with calm judgment. Clever and gifted he was to a degree, but to a great extent also the sport of circumstances—a point which, when we come in a second article to deal with the argument of *Robert Elsmere*, we shall find forced upon us. We cannot save his goodness but by laying stress on his extreme unwisdom. He was only brought to a sense of his folly in making a friend of such an one as Madame de Netteville by a crisis which re-

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vealed his nearness to a moral catastrophe; and surely the novel would have been truer to fact if it had shown that Elsmere's decline from orthodoxy was equally due to the lack of intellectual ballast. Anyhow Madame de Netteville leaves a very bad taste in the mouth.

To proceed to a character which must rank very high indeed in the gallery of romance portraiture—a character as vivid and as powerful as Tito de Melema in *Romola*, or Count Fosco in the *Woman in White*—what better thing could be said for Christian belief than "the Squire"? Whether he was suggested by the late Rector of Lincoln College, I do not know; though I am told that many of Roger Wendover's views are identical with those of Mark Pattison. For the credit of the latter one would fain hope not; but if the authoress had striven might and main to make the sight of pure intellect rejecting Christianity so repulsive that we must needs turn from it with loathing, she could hardly have been more successful than with Roger Wendover. And this not the less, because, unlike the soulless man in Lord Lytton's *Strange Story* the Squire had a rudimentary conscience. He was, after all, not quite inhuman; one cannot aver that he could not have lived, and therein lies the tragedy of such an aspect of humanity. There was in the old scholar just that will-force, the absence of which makes Langham seem so shadowy; but his "grit," plus his intellect, were almost a worse failure; and one is led to wonder whether, if he had had a warm heart and sensitive conscience, his creed might not have been something higher and better, as certainly he would have been saved from the wholesale manslaughter, of which, by his wicked and cruel neglect, he was directly guilty.

But then perhaps it may be said, "What of Grey? He was not an orthodox Christian, yet was he not a right noble man?" That is most true, though Mr. Lang is doubtful whether the late Professor Green is accurately portrayed. Mr. Lang (note to page 822) writes—"The reviewer (*i.e.*, himself) happened to be at Oxford, when a tutor, one of the best men who ever lived, occasionally preached lay sermons to his pupils. As a hearer of his ordinary lectures, and a reader of his writings, I thought his influence was all on the

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side of a liberal orthodoxy, that his endeavour was to find a way in which old beliefs might still be credible. His metaphysics were certainly full of Biblical terminology; but this is not the place to discuss the man nor his work."

I am not myself sufficiently acquainted with Professor Green's writings to presume to say what his exact creed really was: the little I have read would incline me to think that Mrs. Ward was not far out. But, for my present purpose, I take "Grey" as she has depicted him, and I must affirm that he seems to me to stand so very near Christianity—to have his face so lighted by its sun—that he is, as I said, speaking in general in the earlier part of this article, a witness to the Son of God. If I may use a musical illustration, he is like the "leading note" on which you cannot rest, because it suggests and demands the proper "key-note." That Grey and others, in a generation like ours, when all things are being searched out and examined, should not at a particular stage of their intellectual journey have returned to full orthodoxy, is surely far from strange. The wonder to me is, that so many great intellects, fearlessly inquiring, "What is Truth," should find themselves so near to what Revelation tells us is the perfect Truth. We do not see *hearts* so merged in the perfect Love, or *wills* so steeped in the perfect Self-sacrifice, or *consciences* so full of the "Holy, Holy, Holy," that we could expect such a close approach of the *intellect* to Christian dogma as we actually observe. For it is amazing how many master minds, who have dared to enter the valley of the shadow of death in their quest for truth, are staunch in their faith. Tennyson, Browning, Hutton, Church, and Westcott, are merely samples of a much larger number.

But leaving "Mr. Grey," I ask, where can we find a nobler figure than Catherine; and, making due allowance for the intellectual defects, and overlooking that one deplorable episode (deeply bewailed by himself), which I have already briefly referred to, than Robert Elsmere; or where a more ideal picture of an English home, spreading blessing in every direction, than that at Murewell? True it is, that after the husband's 'version —I will not say conversion or perversion—to that peculiar form of Theism, which is, I suppose, the creed of the



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authoress, he lived a grandly heroic life, and was, *in the story*, successful beyond measure in his influence for good.

But this is just where, so far as we have any knowledge of history, we are forced to demur. For where *are* the real prototypes of the "New Christian Brotherhood?" I have many friends working in East London and in South London, but I have not yet heard from any of them that Mrs. Ward's ideal is, or ever has been real. Nor do I think that Mr. Voysey would be able to set us right.

But Catherine, and Robert Elsmere as an orthodox Christian —I have *known* such women, I have known such men. They are not only beautiful ideals, but in the sunlight of this Christian land they are real also. I have only to recall the parish next to that in which I was born—a parish in which I myself afterwards worked as curate—to see such a woman as even Catherine might have desired to emulate. Alas! she has departed this life, but only the other day I learnt that, in a distant country living to which her husband had moved, she was called "The Mother of the Parish."

Again, the Rector of that parish where I was born, the clergyman who baptised me and prepared me for confirmation, was, as many who owed to him their own souls still gladly testify, almost a perfect man, singularly like Robert Elsmere in his charm of manner, his freedom from narrowness, his love of science, not to speak of his holiness, but unlike him in being quite free from all appearance of evil.

Many other very good men and women I have known, whose goodness has been so bound up with their Christian belief, that we cannot venture to say how much was due to natural gift, how much to Divine grace, but one and all, like Robert and Catherine Elsmere, have been witnesses to the power of Christianity; and with such witnesses to Christ, it must needs take a great deal of rebutting evidence before one can entertain the thought that such a change in creed as Robert Elsmere made can be justified by *facts*.

In a second and concluding article we shall enquire into the intellectual force of the argument which seems to have so deeply impressed Mrs. Humphry Ward. We shall, I think, find that real argument there is none. C. LLOYD ENGSTRÖM.

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# AMERICA'S CONTRIBUTION TO ENGLISH HYMNODY.

## PART I.

GREAT as is the past of English literature, its future is likely to be still greater, both on account of the increase of the English-speaking race, and the variety of lands in which its lot is now cast. Thus there will be not only a greater number of contributors to the stores of English literature, but the variety of climate, condition, and scenery will probably give rise to new types both of thought and expression. At present America is the only English-speaking offshoot from the mother country which has existed long enough to develop a literature of its own. Australia is budding into letters, especially of a poetic kind, but, although the promise is great, the time of *fruit* is not yet. In the case of America, however, there has been sufficient time for the bud, the blossom, the slowly-forming fruit, and now we are at the harvest, if not the full one, yet the first ingatherings of what bids fair to rival that of the old country.

My concern in the present paper is only with one small part of this harvest, which some would exclude as altogether unworthy of a place therein, and not altogether without good reason, since a very large number of the hymns of the past have been so destitute of literary grace or poetic inspiration as to be quite unworthy of a place in literature. Dr. Johnson said of Dr. Watts, that he had succeeded in doing better than others, what no one had succeeded in doing well. There was, at that time, a measure of truth in that saying. But before Dr. Watts there had been writers who had written fine hymns, even judged from a literary standpoint, so that even then materials existed for a *good*, if not a *large*, collection of English hymns, which, from a variety of causes, had been strangely



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overlooked and neglected; whilst among Dr. Watts' six hundred hymns, many of which are most inferior, there are a few grand hymns; and since his time many writers have produced hymns which an unprejudiced judgment would include among the *literary* treasures of the English-speaking race. Amongst such, the hymns of our friends across the Atlantic hold no small or undistinguished place. Indeed, some of the finest work of this kind of recent times has had to travel across the ocean which separates us from that great country.

The excellence of much American hymn-work is due to certain causes which do not prevail in England. One of these is the absence of any Established Church, with its venerable and greatly-loved Liturgy, which leaves less space for hymn-singing than do the Churches which rely on extemporaneous utterance in their devotional services. Of course there is an Episcopal Church in America, which, like its elder sister in this country, retains, in an altered form, the Book of Common Prayer in its worship, but it is neither the dominant, nor the most influential, nor the most numerous Church of that land. The great majority of the American Churches rely, either altogether or in part, on extemporaneous utterance in their devotional services, and so a larger place is left open for the singing of hymns, than in Churches whose services are wholly liturgical.

Another reason for the excellence of much American hymn-writing is to be found in the custom which prevails of inviting those with poetic power to contribute verses for the great occasions in their history—social, national, ecclesiastical. This has drawn into the ranks of the hymnists, some of their most notable writers. Scarcely an American poet of any eminence could be named who has not thus been led to consecrate his genius to hymn-production. Some of the finest hymns by American authors have thus been called into being. In England, the names of our greater poets are conspicuous by their absence from the roll of the hymnists. They have either, not thought of hymns as a form for the expression of their genius, or have deemed them unworthy of their powers. And our national customs have

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done nothing to call out their genius in that direction, save occasionally by asking for an ode, or poem, or song, for some great celebration. What glorious additions to our hymnals might have been made if Lord Tennyson, or Robert Browning, or Lewis Morris, had been asked to compose hymns for great occasions, as Oliver Wendell Holmes, John Greenleaf Whittier, and others, have been in America.

It should also be noted that the American poets have been more deeply affected by religious feeling than their brothers in England, so that their poetry is more devotional in tone and feeling. This has made it possible to extract verses from their poems, which, though not written as hymns, have been eminently suited for use in worship.

All these causes combined have conspired to produce a mass of verses which, for the time to which they are confined, are very remarkable.

Hymn-writing in America began with the present century. Before that time only metrical versions of the Psalms were used; the first collection having been the celebrated Bay Psalm Book, or New England version, published in 1640, of which it is said that no less than 70 editions were printed in Boston, London, and Edinburgh. This was revised in 1757 by Thomas Prince, but was soon superseded by Tate and Brady's version. Rather later (1750-1780) editions of Tate and Brady were issued, and a supplement of hymns, chiefly from Dr. Watts. At the end of the 18th century many editions of Dr. Watts' Psalms and Hymns were published, in some of which the Psalms were amended, by Joel Barlow in 1785, and by Timothy Dwight in 1800. After this time the Metrical Psalms were issued, with hymns appended; in the Episcopal Church—the version of Tate and Brady—and in the Presbyterian and Congregational, Watts' version being used. But as time went on, the Psalms fell more and more into the background, and hymns became more prominent.

The hymns used in America have been chiefly drawn from English sources, only about a seventh part being of native origin. In many collections the proportion of American hymns is much smaller—in the *Methodist Episcopal*

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*Hymn Book* of 1849, only 50 out of a total of 1148 are American; in the *Baptist Service of Song*, there are 100 out of a total of 1129; so that though the store of American hymns is by no means small, and is constantly increasing, yet, as was to be expected from a new community, it is insignificant compared with the store of English hymns, which through many centuries has been gradually accumulating. But in spite of this, America is destined, I believe, to contribute an even larger proportion of hymns, and to exert an immense influence on our English Hymnody.

A large number of American hymnists are quite unknown and entirely unrepresented in our English collections. My concern in the present paper is only with those whose hymns have found a place in our own Hymnals, and these represent the freshest and most vigorous writers of the new country. I will group them under the various Churches to which they belong.

From the Protestant Episcopal Church, hymns by about ten writers have been included in English collections.

HENRY USTIC ONDERDONK, D.D. (1789-1858), second Bishop of Pennsylvania, who is best known by the hymn of Invitation, which begins, "The Spirit in our hearts."

WILLIAM AUGUSTUS MUHLENBERG, D.D. (1796-1879), the great-grandson of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, the founder of the German Lutheran Church in America, whose Baptismal hymn, "Saviour, who Thy flock art feeding," has deservedly become popular.

GEORGE WASHINGTON DOANE, D.D. (1799-1859), Bishop of New Jersey, was the author of the well-known hymn, "Thou art the way: to Thee alone;" and the Missionary hymn quoted below, a very striking and poetic utterance.

FLING out the banner! let it float
  Skyward and seaward, high and wide;
The sun shall light its shining folds,
  The Cross on which the Saviour died.
Fling out the banner! angels bend
  In anxious silence o'er the sign;
And vainly seek to comprehend
  The wonder of the Love Divine.
Fling out the banner! heathen lands
  Shall see from far the glorious sight,
And nations, crowding to be born,
  Baptise their spirits in its light.

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Fling out the banner! sin-sick souls
That sink and perish in the strife,
Shall touch in faith its radiant hem,
And spring immortal into life.

Fling out the banner! let it float
Skyward and seaward, high and wide,
Our glory, only in the Cross;
Our only hope, the Crucified!

Fling out the banner! wide and high,
Seaward and skyward, let it shine:
Nor skill, nor might, nor merit ours;
We conquer only in that Sign.

CHARLES WILLIAM EVEREST, M.A. (1814-1877), for thirty-one years Rector of Hampden, near New-Haven, Conn., to whom we owe a fine hymn which has been so wretchedly mangled, especially in the third verse, in nearly every English collection, that I quote it in its proper form.

TAKE up thy cross, the Saviour said,
If thou wouldst My disciple be;
Take up thy cross with willing heart,
And humbly follow after Me.

Take up thy cross; let not its weight
Fill thy weak soul with vain alarm;
His strength shall bear thy spirit up,
And brace thy heart, and nerve thy arm.

Take up thy cross, nor heed the shame,
And let thy foolish pride be still;
The Lord refused not e'en to die
Upon a cross, on Calvary's hill.

Take up thy cross, then, in His strength,
And calmly sin's wild deluge brave;
'Twill guide thee to a better home,
And point to glory o'er the grave.

Take up thy cross, and follow on,
Nor think till death to lay it down;
For only he who bears the cross
May hope to wear the glorious crown.

In nearly every English hymnal, save my own, the third verse is made to read thus—

Take up thy cross, nor heed the shame;
Nor let thy foolish pride rebel;
The Lord for thee the cross endured,
To save thy soul from death and hell.

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A more shameless attempt to force dogma into a hymn, singularly free from it, I do not remember.

HARRIET BEECHER STOWE (born 1812), known all over the world as the authoress of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and the sister of Henry Ward Beecher, of whom, after hearing in London most of the chief preachers, she exclaimed, "Oh for half-an-hour of my brother Henry," is the authoress of hymns that are greatly prized in churches which do not regard poetry in hymns as a fatal disqualification to their use in public worship. The best known, and they are very beautiful, are the following:—"When winds are raging o'er the upper ocean;" "Still, still with Thee, when purple morning breaketh;" and the hymn on "Abide with Me."

THAT mystic word of Thine, O sovereign Lord,
Is all too pure, too high, too deep for me;
Weary of striving, and with longing faint,
I breathe it back again in prayer to Thee!

Abide in me, I pray, and I in Thee!
From this good hour, O leave me never more!
Then shall the discord cease, the wound be healed,
The life-long bleeding of the soul be o'er.

Abide in me; o'ershadow by Thy love
Each half-formed purpose, and dark thought of sin;
Quench, ere it rise, each selfish, low desire,
And keep my soul, as Thine, calm and divine.

As some rare perfume in a vase of clay
Pervades it with a fragrance not its own,
So, when Thou dwellest in a mortal soul,
All heaven's own sweetness seems around it thrown.

Abide in me: there have been moments blest
When I have heard Thy voice and felt Thy power,
Then evil lost its grasp, and passion hushed,
Owned the divine enchantment of the hour.

These were but seasons, beautiful and rare;
Abide in me, and they shall ever be;
Fulfil at once Thy precept and my prayer—
Come, and abide in me, and I in Thee!

ARTHUR CLEVELAND COXE, D.D. (born 1818), Bishop of Western New York, is known by three hymns, all of which are of great merit. "How beauteous were the marks divine!" "Saviour, sprinkle many nations!" (one of the finest of our Missionary hymns), and the very fine verse usually set to a part song—"Now pray we for our country."

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He is also the author of another hymn of no little merit, but lacking the unity of thought and compactness of expression of those we have named, "Breath of the Lord, O Spirit blest."

ELIZA SCUDDER (born 1821), possesses a poetic gift equal to that of Mrs. Beecher Stowe, with a greater mastery of hymn forms, which renders her productions more available for public worship. Her tiny little volume of only fifty pages, "Hymns and Sonnets," by E. S., is more worthy of retention than many a portly volume of hymns. In my judgment, two of her hymns, especially, are amongst the very finest of modern times—there is strength, tenderness, melody,—every quality needful to a good hymn to be found in them. This is high praise, but my readers shall judge for themselves by the following. The first she calls "Truth"—

THOU long disowned, reviled, oppressed,
Strange Friend of human kind,
Seeking through weary years a rest
Within our hearts to find;—

How late Thy bright and awful brow
Breaks through these clouds of sin:
Hail, Truth Divine! we know Thee *now*,
Angel of God, come in!

Come, though with purifying fire
And swift-dividing sword,
Thou of all nations the desire,
Earth waits Thy cleansing word.

Struck by the lightning of Thy glance,
Let old oppressions die:
Before Thy cloudless countenance
Let fear and falsehood fly.

Anoint our eyes with healing grace,
To see, as not before,
Our Father in our brother's face,
Our Maker in His poor.

Flood our dark life with golden day:
Convince, subdue, enthral;
Then to a mightier yield Thy sway,
And Love be all in all.

The second is on "The Love of God"—

THOU Grace divine, encircling all,
A shoreless, boundless sea,
Wherein at last our souls must fall;
O Love of God most free.

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When over dizzy heights we go,
    A soft hand blinds our eyes,
And we are guided safe and slow;
    O Love of God most wise.
And though we turn us from Thy face,
    And wander wide and long,
Thou hold'st us still in kind embrace;
    O Love of God most strong.
The saddened heart, the restless soul,
    The toil-worn frame and mind,
Alike confess Thy sweet control,
    O Love of God most kind.
But not alone Thy care we claim,
    Our wayward steps to win;
We know Thee by a dearer name;
    O Love of God within.
And filled and quickened by Thy breath,
    Our souls are strong and free,
To rise o'er sin and fear and death;
    O Love of God! to Thee.

Her hymn on, "Whither shall I go from Thy Spirit, or whither shall I flee from Thy Spirit?" which she calls "The Quest," is lovely, but a little too subtle for public worship. Her "Vesper Hymn" and "Collect for Ascension Day" are both admirable.

When the Church frees herself from a blind clinging to old hymns, simply because they are old, and becomes free to receive whatever is worthy, for her worship-song, Miss Scudder will be more largely represented in our hymnals. I shall be glad if my reference to her should direct any future editors to a consideration of her exquisite hymns.

Turning to the Presbyterian section of the Church in America, there is little to detain us. She has no Bonar in her ranks. All her writers are more or less echoes.

SAMUEL DAVIES (1723-1761), the successor of Jonathan Edwards as President of Princeton College, is remembered as the author of the striking hymn, "Great God of wonders all Thy ways," which used to be popular, but is somewhat fading in popularity on account of its very strong expressions concerning sinners.

JAMES WADDELL ALEXANDER, D.D. (1804-1859), is remembered as the translator of the best version of Paul Gerhardt's noble hymn, "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden," which begins, "O Sacred Head now wounded," and of a version of the "Stabat Mater" by Jacopone da Tode.

THOMAS MACKELLAR (born 1812) is the author of many hymns,

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which have a certain popularity in America, but I have not been able, though I have examined them carefully, to discern a single one distinctive enough to be worthy of importation into England.

GEORGE DUFFIELD, M.A. (born 1818), and successively pastor of Presbyterian Churches in Brooklyn, Bloomfield, Philadelphia, and the West, is the author of one of the best known and most popular of American hymns. As no other hymn from his pen has the force of "Stand up! stand up for Jesus!" it is natural to conclude that this hymn owes much to the affecting circumstances under which it was written. In 1858 the Rev. Dudley A. Tyng had been engaged in a remarkable mission in Philadelphia, and on the Sunday before his death had preached in Jaynes Hall one of the most stirring sermons of modern times, so that out of the five thousand present at the delivery, at least a thousand are believed to have been converted. On the following Wednesday he left his study for a moment, and went to a barn where a mule was at work on a horse-power, shelling corn. Patting him on the neck, the sleeve of his silk study gown caught in the cogs of the wheel, and his arm was torn out by the roots, and in a few hours he died. Just before his death he sent the message, "Stand up for Jesus!" to those assembled at the Young Men's Christian Association prayer-meeting,—a message which suggested this hymn, and formed the concluding exhortation of the funeral sermon for Mr. Tyng, which was preached from Eph. vi. 14 by its author. It was printed as a fly-leaf for the Sunday-school scholars by the superintendent; thence it found its way into a Baptist newspaper, and afterwards passed, either in its English or in translated forms, all over the world. It was the favourite song of the Christian soldiers in the army of the James in the American War. The original contains two more verses than are usually now printed in most hymnals.

To THOMAS HASTINGS, Mus. Doc. (1784-1872), we owe three hymns, "Now be the gospel banner!" "Hail to the brightness of Zion's glad morning!" and "Return, O wanderer, to thy home!" which is an appeal rather than, in the truest sense, a hymn. It was suggested by the closing words of a sermon to which Dr. Hastings listened in 1830—"Sinner, come home! come home! come home!"

Of the other hymn-writers of this section of the Church, about twenty in number, there is no need to speak, as their hymns are little known in this country. Of those belonging to other sections of the American Church, I shall speak in succeeding articles. W. GARRETT HORDER.

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# CAN WE POPULARIZE THE EPISTLES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT?

SEVERAL reasons lead to the conclusion that a new version of the epistolary portions of the New Testament, aiming at a popular standard of diction, may be acceptable both to the clerical profession and to the general public, so far as it can be said to share the interest of the subject.

All the accredited versions of the New Testament, or of portions of it, so far as I know, aim at incorporating the maximum possible of the Authorized Version of 1611, which clung in its turn with similar fidelity to an older version or versions; and although vast energy and industry, with many higher gifts, are conspicuous in the Revised Version of a few years ago, it cannot be said to have achieved much on the side of popular diction. Nor, indeed, is this any reproach to the committees of that revision, since their commission "straitly charged" them to retain as aforesaid the maximum possible of the Authorized Version. Without this large measure of conservatism in phrase and style secured, it is probable that no such large measure of ecclesiastical consent as was in fact obtained would have been possible. The obvious consequence is that the writers of the Bible address the English-speaking people of the late nineteenth century in the phraseology and style of the early seventeenth.

If indeed we were restricted to the use of one version only there would be a great deal more to be urged in favour of this tradition of retention than can be said now. But obviously that is not the case. There exist as wholes the Authorized Version and the Revised side by side, besides a large number of portions of the Sacred Text edited by various highly gifted men, many of which include a translation of the part so edited. But as far as I know them, their rule is the same:



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to keep as close to existing standards as their own view of the inspired meaning will allow them.

The purely narrative portions of the New Testament, for of that only I will now speak, do not appreciably suffer from this treatment. But with the epistolary portions the case is very different. They have, I think, suffered all along, since their earliest presentation in English, from the translators clinging too closely to the idioms of the Greek; and if in the year 1611, by reason of this tenacity of the letter, they were somewhat obscure, in the present day have probably become much more so.

For an epistle after all is a letter, a communication from A to B, and therefore essentially subjective, whereas a narrative is essentially objective. Nor does the case appreciably differ, whether B be an individual or a numerous community. So far as the faults, questionings, and human weaknesses of our people at present agree and fall in with those of the Apostolic Churches, that people stand in the place of the first recipients of these letters; while the eternal principles of faith, practice, sacraments, worship, etc., which they embody, are addressed to Christians of every age. But since they were written, ancient society has passed through mediæval into modern. The laws of thought remain the same, but the whole apparatus of expression has been influenced by change. From east to west, from old to new, from the now dead Levantine Greek of the Christian era, to the living English vernacular, spread more or less over two-thirds of the habitable globe, and spreading wider every day —all this measures the vastness of the interval which interpretation has now to span. Further, the epistolary style is necessarily a familiar one, stamped with features of time, place, and circumstance, transparently perspicuous once, and for that very reason liable the more to obscurity now. The literary atmosphere which prevailed from Alexandria to Tarsus more than eighteen centuries ago is decomposed, and for us recomposed into one generated by more than four centuries of print, and more than two of newspapers. Arts and sciences, manners, customs, and conventions have suffered

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and are suffering expansion, development, and transmutation at a rate of speed perpetually accelerating.

With all these adverse conditions dead against the perspicuity of an epistle from a writer of the old world to a reader of the new, is it not desirable, nay imperative, that no needless weight of difficulty should be added; that, on the contrary, all that can be done should be done to minimize by the utmost transparency of adequate phrase employed, such difficulties as are inherent and inevitable?

Take the somewhat, although inadequately parallel case, of the greater Greek Prose Classic Authors. Of all these translations exist in which, where need arises, the letter is sacrificed to the spirit of the original. In our Authorized, and therefore in our Revised Version of the New Testament Epistles, where, for the above reasons, the demand for that sacrifice is mostly greater, the opposite principle prevails, and the spirit is too often sacrificed to the letter. Here only men mostly translate as if they were afraid of the idioms of their own language;—only here, where lucidity is most important, and, especially in the argumentative, doctrinal and emotional passages, obscurity is most fatal, are they content to "serve in the oldness of the letter" still?

No doubt this has arisen from a sense of scrupulous fidelity, combined occasionally, as in the Revisers, with a zeal for scholarly exactness. Nor is it wise or reverent to withhold homage from either of these principles as such. But in their application "the half" is often "greater than the whole," and it is plainly possible to carry them, when combined at a high power, to a point at which common sense is puzzled and simple faith bewildered. And here it seems worth while to notice how little testimony Holy Scripture itself offers in favour of rigorous exactness, or rather how ample is often the divergence between the Hebrew and the LXX. which it sanctions. For the LXX. was, it must never be forgotten, the current form of the Old Testament in the hands of the inspired penmen of the New. As recorded by them, our Divine Master cites the former in, I believe, thirty-seven places; of these thirty-three agree nearly verbatim with the LXX. as we have

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it, while two only differ from it, and agree with the Hebrew. There remains one which differs from both, and one which partially agrees with both. Moreover, out of the whole thirty-seven, only six can be said to agree exactly with the Hebrew. "What saith the Scripture?" is St. Paul's repeated question; his answer to which is a citation from the LXX. In short, there are in the entire New Testament about 350 such citations, not a few of several verses in length, of which not above fifty can fairly be reckoned as advisedly deviating from the LXX. text. This bulk is nearly that of the entire Epistle to the Hebrews; and that document itself is to the extent of about four-fifths of its volume made up of such citations. There is a tradition that it first existed in Hebrew (*i.e.*, Syro-Chaldee), and that what we have is a translation. However that may be, the fact of its being addressed apparently to Palestinian Jews makes its large adoption of, and predominant agreement with, the LXX. a still more remarkable fact. At the same time it may be noticed that the New Testament writers often cite the LXX. with a freedom and laxity which I fear would scandalize a committee of modern revisers. Now here we have a double measure of inexactness—the LXX., which often inexactly represents the Hebrew, is itself inexactly cited by an inspired apostle. After the above momentous tributes to its authority, it is comparatively of light weight to urge that (if we except Origen, and that not often) it is the unquestioned representative of the Old Testament to the universal Church of the Fathers down to Jerome, and is so to the Eastern Church in unbroken continuity to this day. And yet it is an elementary fact of Biblical scholarship, that from it you may copiously illustrate (and that in places where the Hebrew text was as we have it) every fault short of studied infidelity which a translation can easily have, from the most servile literality in some, to the loosest paraphrase in others. I think I have made out a plea for abatement in the punctilious and sometimes pedantic preciseness, which, on the whole, governs the domain of modern Biblical translation.

Thus far the question is purely general. But when we come to the individuality of the New Testament Epistles, the

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difficulties which time interposes between writer and student are in the greater number, those, viz., which we ascribe to St. Paul, enormously magnified by his personal characteristics. Leaving inspiration for a moment aside, he is, except perhaps Cicero, the greatest letter-writer of the ancient world of whom an adequate quantity remains. His letters are true to their epistolary kind—the product of the occasion and circumstances, written with a lively sense of the immediate, quivering and flashing with the personality of the writer. In these respects, as also in quick power of seizing the argumentative point of view, in vivid keenness of emotion, and many-sided human sympathy, Cicero, the most amiable of all the great ancients of whom we know as much, and far away the foremost of their letter-writers, may be compared with St. Paul. And here one may perhaps notice, that to attempt a translation of the letters *ad Atticum* in the style of faithfulness to the outward form of expression which governs the great school of our New Testament translators, would be little else than to present the great Roman's lively sallies flat and dead. But in all those qualities which from the moral sphere reflect themselves in the intellectual, St. Paul, and indeed all the literary Apostolate (setting inspiration wholly apart) leave Cicero dwarfed and distanced. These are specially the power derived from earnestness, and in St. Paul's case the fervour and fulness, the intense urgency, the beseeching persuasiveness, derived from that abundant sympathy radiated on a sin-sunken world. But in him both inner temperament and outward circumstance cause special difficulties of style. I can only give a few points here in illustration of what I say.

1. His readiness in seizing and incorporating secondary thoughts before the primary have been fully dealt with. These latter thus open out into real or seeming parentheses, which are sometimes left pending, sometimes reabsorbed by the main thought. This latter is, however, reinforced and furthered by them. Thus his style rather resembles a cellular tissue in which what seem excrescences become accretions, and which may advance by growth on many sides, rather than a clear and compact logical vertebration.

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2. Abrupt reference to the great principles on which his mind seems always dwelling and working. Even when fullest of practical detail, he is never too full to find room for a reference to these. They start forth suddenly like the cones on a volcano, from the upthrust of the heat-force working deep below. In the discussion of some question, perhaps of tertiary importance or lower, propounded by his correspondents, we are thus met by some grand outcrop of primary principle. A similarly abrupt use of quotations, express or allusive, is a parallel and secondary development of the same mental bye-law, working in the literary sphere.

3. A certain cumulativeness of style, in which there is a *crescendo* movement through the whole, culminating in a grand finale of enthusiasm, and in which the successive thoughts, sometimes in an alliterative or antithetical setting, follow meanwhile a law of association merely. In this he seems to me to resemble closely the Prophet Isaiah[1]—that typical exponent of the Semitic mind—whose grand evangelic outlooks into the future of a heathen "people of God," were as closely reflected in his own thoughts as they were exemplified and realized in his own life and labours. The Esaian manner is also prominent in the frequent use of plays upon language, in which, however, the selected terms have each a relevance, and form so many advancing points along a progressive line.

4. But St. Paul, in his longer Epistles at anyrate, always seems to write under pressure. There occurs in the thoughts a constant tendency to overflow the language, and in the dictation to outrun the amanuensis. The "care of all the Churches" is upon him as he writes to any one. Moreover, his imagination seems often so powerful that he conceives himself in the midst of the Church, or its elders and prophets, bishops and deacons, as gathered about him, and addresses them as if present and listening. A large part of the Epistle to the

[1] For a string of cumulative terms, abstract or concrete, *cf.* Rom. viii. 35, 38, 39; 1 Cor. iii. 12; 2 Cor. vi. 4-8, vii. 11, with Is. iv. 2, 3, vii. 19, xi. 2, xxi. 15, xxii. 12, 13, xxix. 6. For a string of contrasted pairs, *cf.* 1 Cor. xv. 42-44, with Is. xxiv. 2. For a series of terms interrogatively put, *cf.* 1 Cor. i. 20, with Is. xxxiii. 18. For a string of remonstrant questions, *cf.* Rom. ix. 20, 21, with Is. x. 15.



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Galatians, and the latter part of 2 Cor., may be taken as specimens of this effacement of distance and absence. Thus we have a combination of intense fervour of spirit with conversational familiarity of style.

All these various characteristics, and they are but a few out of many, import their difficulties; and the total of their drawback is great enough to justify all the economies which language affords. The style of St. John is as completely the opposite to that of St. Paul, as if they had belonged to different centuries and different hemispheres. His solid and simple aphorisms, presented each like a single flower on its own stalk, and his delightful way of briefly circling round the point which fixes his regard, and calmly settling on it again, without discursive or allusive touches, form a style as equable as the balanced soaring of a bird. His only long sentence is the opening one of his first Epistle, and it contains his only parenthesis, which breaks its back, and he resumes.

There is not—and this marks the wholeness and absoluteness of his handling—a single recognizable quotation in any of these Epistles; while their vocabulary is far less than that wielded in the same space by any writer of the New Testament, probably by any ancient writer at all. A "milkiness of blood," as somebody called it in the last century, seems to pervade the man, and so the style. There is accordingly less to call for a new presentation of the Johannine Epistles than for that of any others. And indeed, whether to pursue this attempt beyond the Pauline and the Epistle to the Hebrews, or even so far as that, is a question, at anyrate as concerns this Review, rather for others than for myself. I suppose that the public will soon make up their own mind on the subject, and that its expression will carry the usual weight.

But such a work as I contemplate is barred by its very conditions from the possibility of being an artistic success. The ancient epistolary forms of salutation and valediction, the benedictions, ascriptions, and doxologies remain mostly fixed in hard crystals of language. The leading terms of all spiritual argument, "justification, sanctification," and the like, resist change, and have often secured a quasi-technical value; so that to attempt to vary them would cause more

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obscurity than it would relieve. Further, in simply didactic and hortatory passages the noble simplicity of the Authorized Version is often more effective than anything which modern phrase could substitute. It follows that the work must be a thing of shreds and patches, the old garment continually asserting itself amidst the new material. Such a result must always dissatisfy all critics who have a grain of taste, and disappoint most of all the patch-worker himself. We shall travel on a road which is seamed with the ruts of centuries, broad and deep, and often smooth; and the wheel which runs sometimes in them, and sometimes out of them, can never run easily.

The sole excuse for attempting it is the hope of its usefulness. As regards the clergy, all social influences tend to increase the number of those who have but little, if any, knowledge of Greek, and still slenderer opportunities of study after ordination than before. To such, a presentation of the Apostles' thoughts, not in

> English cut on Greek and Latin,
> As fustian heretofore on satin,

but in language as near as may be to that of current use, may be valuable. And this, perhaps, may apply to the various Dissenting Bodies, at least as much as to the Church, and to America and the Colonies, as well as to religious communities at home.

On the great body of the laity everywhere the strain and burden of civilization seems likely to increase, if that be possible. The possibilities of sustaining thought, or of thinking twice over any subject not in the routine of their business, become daily fewer. To men so circumstanced all facilities are important economics, and all thoughts especially which do not pack into easy words are repellent. The Authorized Version may be pure gold, or with only so much alloy as to assist its currency; the Revised may be of even a higher standard than the mint. But still, silver and small change, and even baser metal, have their uses too, so long as they carry the true Image and Superscription.

HENRY HAYMAN, D.D.

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# CHURCH POLITY A PART OF CHRISTIANITY.

SHOULD any of our readers please to affirm that the Bible is a mere human book, and that through it God does not speak to man, we do not stop to enter into controversy with him; it is sufficient to say at present that we do not agree in that opinion. We assume from the first the Christian and Protestant standpoint, that the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments reveal the will of God to man. We hold with the Lutherans, that "the only rule according to which all dogmas and all doctors ought to be estimated and judged is no other than the Prophetic and Apostolic writings." We hold with the Presbyterians, that "the Word of God, contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, is the only rule to direct us how to glorify God." We hold with the Anglicans, that they "contain all things necessary to salvation," and are the "ultimate rule and standard of faith." In short, we accept the statement of Chillingworth, that "the Bible, and the Bible alone, is the religion of Protestants," and sincerely believe that, outside its intimations, we have during our sojourn in this world no other authoritative guide in matters of religion. Everything essential to Christianity is contained in the Bible, either by express statement or by necessary implication.

On a more minute examination of this extraordinary book, we find that the moral and spiritual truths therein revealed are imbedded in a setting of historical matter, which furnishes a test of authenticity and lends them interest, but does not touch to any great extent the faith and life of modern ages. Doubtless we are concerned to know that the historic setting itself is fact, for religious truth would be in some degree tainted even by association on the same page with anything merely traditional or false. But what is of most advantage to



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the after ages is to have light and guidance on all that bears directly on the faith and conduct of Christians. On four great subjects in particular—the doctrines to be believed, the duties to be practised, the worship to be offered, and the constitution of that great society known as the Church, we expect to find something in a Divine Revelation, for on these subjects specially we need light and help. On every one of them the Bible has much to say. The business of those who profess to take it as their guide is to read and consider, to ascertain what it actually says on these topics of inquiry, and to receive and act upon its intimations. This is not to be done by reasoning as to what it must contain, prior to investigation; a right result can only be reached by a calm and careful search.

The strange thing is, however, that Christian people not a few, who are quite content to take their doctrine, their morality, and the precedents of worship from Holy Scripture, often refuse to be bound by what it says on the subject of ecclesiastical polity. They tell us, that they do not find any particular system of Church Government laid down in the Bible; and from this, as from an axiom, they infer that "any polity or any agencies which teach best, rule best, and suit best any particular age or race, are most accredited to common sense as providential."

There is one sense in which the statement from which this inference is derived is quite true. The Bible teaches nothing in the form of a system; it presents neither a system of doctrine, nor a system of ethics, nor a system of worship, nor a system of church government. It is in fact as free of all system as Nature in its primal condition is free of science. In vain you search the earth or the heavens, the rock or the ocean, for a botanical, an astronomical, or a geological system. Neither Nature nor the Bible turns out systems ready made. What Nature does is to present a series of facts and operations which we are to observe carefully; from observed facts we are to discover the laws by which Nature operates, and out of these laws to construct a system. This system, usually called science, will be more or less complete according to the accuracy of our observation, the extent of our induction, and

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the soundness of our reasoning. So it is with the Bible. It presents nothing in systematic order. The Decalogue is the only exception, and that is an exception more apparent than real. Its method in general is to throw out a multitude of isolated facts, and precepts and sentiments, which we are to gather and classify and harmonise, in order to reach the general principles or laws out of which a system is constructed. The Bible does not therefore present a system; it only presents the facts or Divine elements out of which the system is made. Some no doubt object to any such attempt being made; but it lies upon them to show that a process of analysis, which has proved so useful in every other department of knowledge, is not to be followed in Theology.

By a diligent investigation of the words of Holy Scripture, conducted in a spirit of humility and prayer, it is possible to reach a series of truths which, when combined into principles, will yield a system of doctrine, or of morality, or of worship, or of church polity, closely approximating, if honestly and fairly done, to what is the revealed will of God on these various topics of inquiry. An approximation is all we venture to claim, for infallibility is not an attribute of man. We are only erring creatures at the best; and however thoroughly an investigation is conducted, we can never be sure that we have not overlooked something, that we have given to every clause of an ancient record its right interpretation, and that we have given its due weight to every word. But on the conditions stated being present, assuming that the Bible is to be understood as any other book in similar circumstances is to be understood, we may be confident that for all practical purposes we have obtained a true conception of what Divine Revelation teaches on any of these subjects.

Take in illustration the subject of Church Polity. From a careful examination of the written Scriptures we can ascertain, with a fair degree of certainty, the nature, the component elements, duties, privileges, and design of the local congregation—that is, the unit of which, multiplied indefinitely, the Church universal consists. From the same source we can ascertain the origin, names, orders, functions, duties, and privi-

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leges of the Christian ministry. It is equally possible to discover the Scriptural mode of their appointment, the ordinances which they are to administer, and the nature and extent of that rule which they are to exercise in the Christian community. It may also be clearly known whether church rulers are to act as individuals or in association with each other; whether they are justified in exercising jurisdiction over the churches committed to their care; and if so, the nature, limit, and purpose of that jurisdiction: the relationship in which associated congregations and ministers stand to each other; the financial sources by which church operations are sustained; and the relationship of the Lord Jesus to the whole organisation. These points, once established on the sure foundation of Holy Scripture, and harmonised with each other, fit into an outline or system of church order which, to a devout and humble reader of the Bible, comes with all the authority of the Divine.

We do not say, of course, that the form of Church Polity drawn from the Bible is as important to the individual soul as the doctrine, morality, or worship therein revealed. From the nature of the case it is not so important; so far as we can see, it is not so closely connected with personal salvation; it does not fill so large and prominent a place in the volume of inspiration; it does not, to an equal extent, control the conduct and the thought of men; it does not so much obtrude itself on our daily life. But the presumption is, that if instruction on the subject was not needed, it would not have been revealed; and that it was revealed, not to be undervalued and neglected, but to be studied and used as a guide. If an ecclesiastical system can be drawn with as much probability from the Bible as a system of doctrine, or of duty, or of worship, why should the one be ignored more than the others? Is it not, in all its essential elements, a portion of Divine truth? No doubt, Christians in general are more divided in opinion in regard to Church Polity; but may not that arise from the fact that men often allow present ecclesiastical connections and prejudices unconsciously to warp their judgments, and do not make a vigorous effort to examine

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it with an impartial mind? The very fact of so much division is an additional reason for giving more attention to the matter, and after ascertaining the testimony of God, for recognising and submitting to what He says. If a Divine plan of Church government is so very desirable, by what authority do men practically set aside what God has given, and set up something else in its stead?

There are people indeed who, notwithstanding anything the Bible says, imagine that they are free to adopt "any polity or any agencies which teach best, rule best, and suit best any particular age or race," and who affirm that "whatever is good, helpful, and beautiful is divine, whether laid down in the Bible or not." But that is alike a non-Protestant and a non-Christian sentiment. To say so is simply to discard the Bible as a rule of faith and life, and cannot be said consistently by any man who accepts the Holy Scriptures as divine. If a man possessed of a fallen nature knows the good, the useful, and the beautiful without the Bible, it is very manifest that he has no need of the Bible. He who takes up this position should let us know how, apart from a written revelation, we are in this corrupt world to find out the good. A Romanist who believes in a hierarchy, with its roots in every land and a universal bishop at the top, honestly believes that his system is "good, and useful, and beautiful." Other Christians, with a hierarchy not so grand, or perhaps no hierarchy at all, see an equal amount of goodness, utility, and beauty in the simpler systems of Church order which they have adopted. Who is to decide between them? Various systems flourish at the same time, and strike their roots into the same soil, so that we cannot say any of them is unsuited to our particular age or race; are we to say that these contradictory and opposing systems are alike divine? If we set aside the polity divinely revealed, how can we consistently hold by a Divine dogma or duty, or rite of worship set down in the Scripture? Are we to discard Scripture testimony on all these subjects together; and are we, without a supernatural guide, to set out on a fantastic hunt of our own after the beautiful, and the useful, and the good?

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Is it not in accordance with common sense, that every principle of polity, and every element of divine worship, as well as every dogma and precept, should be tested by the Holy Scriptures—the ultimate standard of faith? If they are given to discover to the creature the will of the Almighty, nothing can be more reasonable than that on all religious questions the voice of God ought to be heard. But if we set aside the Bible, or rather if we remove from the judgment-seat Him who speaks to man through the Bible, then nothing remains but that we submit to be led either by the infallibility of Rome, or the instinct of our own depraved nature, as to what is the beautiful and the good; and neither guide is, in our opinion, trustworthy or safe. The language of the objector is that of a man who, if he ever had faith in the Bible, has now lost it, and who occupies ground at variance with the great Protestant position that won the battle of the Reformation, namely, that the Word of God, contained in the Scriptures, is the only rule of faith and conduct.

Ignorance of the Scriptural principles of Church Polity, and indifference to their great value, has opened the door to many errors. Till we examine and reflect upon the subject, we scarcely suspect how many unscriptural things have come in to deform the Church in this very way. If Christians throughout the ages had possessed any distinct views of what the rule of faith teaches on the Christian ministry, it would have been very difficult for them to admit its hierarchical development on the one side, or the denial of its divine institution on the other. From inacquaintance with what Scripture teaches in regard to the laying on of hands, a multitude of additional ceremonies were added, in hope, we suppose, of making ordination more "beautiful and useful and good," and many unwarranted inferences were drawn from it—indelibility of orders, apostolic succession, and so on. Mistaken conceptions of the Scriptural discipline has, by a series of small changes, led gradually up to the prevailing practices of penance, indulgences, auricular confession, and priestly absolution. The infallibility of general councils, and of the Pope as representing the general council, has claimed

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support from a perversion of what is told us in the fifteenth of Acts regarding the meeting of the apostles and elders. If the Church had kept a firm grasp of what the Scriptures teach about the supremacy of Christ, it would with far more reluctance have accepted either the headship of the Roman bishop, or that of the civil power. It is wonderful how many errors have flowed in on the side of Church Polity, and how ignorance of the subject, or indifference to its value as a part of Christianity, has made the admission of gross errors easy. The Church of Christ has long suffered from the evils so produced; and from her obvious dislike to enter on the subject seriously and without prejudice, she is likely to suffer very much longer.

Perplexing questions may be asked on the subject, which it would be hard to answer. Every existing system of Christian Church Polity still retains something of the Divine. Perhaps no existing form, however excellent, conforms in everything to the Scriptural pattern. Any attempt at a complete restoration, owing to the altered circumstances of our time, must prove a failure. To make it workable something would need to be supplied; and if carried out with changes, it would vary less or more from the Divine model. The robes of boyhood are not suited to the full-grown man. Alterations in the Scriptural Polity of the New Testament Church, are to some extent needed to meet the altered condition of new countries and new ages. Divine principles need to be wisely developed; unsuitable practices must be allowed to drop out; new agencies have to be used and adapted to the grand objects which the Church has been founded to promote. All this we freely admit. But the essentials of Church Polity revealed in the Bible ought never to be rejected; and new elements should not be admitted without necessity or manifest utility. Unauthorised and unnecessary changes, made often to gratify somebody's sense of the useful, and beautiful, and good, always appear innocent; but they are not so; they in fact are the root of the mischief, and in proportion to their number and variety are sure to grow into something that the besom of reform must one day sweep away.

T. WITHEROW, D.D.

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# FORCES ANTAGONISTIC TO CHRISTIANITY.

## No. I.

### EXPLANATIONS.

By forces antagonistic to Christianity we mean hostile forces, in so far as they are hostile. The qualification is important. Positivism, for instance, may well be regarded as an antagonistic force. But then the stream of Positivism is not unmixed. There blend with it certain elements of good; and these, of course, are not against the Christian religion. A similar remark might be made of all non-Christian systems. They are clouds rather than lights, but still they have some light. Here we have the principle, broad as the earth—whatever is good, under whatever name, is friendly; whatever is evil, under whatever name, is hostile to Christianity. We say under whatever name; for, unhappily, good is sometimes called —even believed to be—evil, and evil good. For example, on the one hand, the early Christians were often by the Romans called atheists, and Christianity was commonly regarded by the Jews as worse than a blasphemous fable. On the other hand, many Christians at one time called slavery a Scriptural institution, and regarded persecution as a perfectly legitimate weapon against heretics. To-day there are sceptics who call Christianity a worn-out superstition, and Christians who believe all scepticism to be only an attempt to overthrow a religion that condemns the profligate life of the sceptics. Thus it happens that if anything good or evil is only labelled with this or that name, there is some chance of its being accepted or rejected without inquiry into its true nature. Hence the warning, that we must not only note the name but also carefully examine the thing itself.

Having thus explained the meaning of the title, we now ask, How far have we the right to demand from opponents, opponents from us, the definition of the terms employed?



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The answer must depend partly upon what is meant by a definition, and partly upon what it is we are asked to define. As regards the first it is seldom, outside of mathematics, that a complete assignment of limits is possible. To define with perfect accuracy requires perfect knowledge. So long as knowledge grows, definitions must be subject to change. But this cannot excuse the loose and careless employment of terms in which the same word or phrase is used in such variable senses as to render clear apprehension impossible. It is true that some of the causes of ambiguity are to be found partly in the present imperfection of our thinking faculties, partly in the defects of language whether as the instrument or as the expression of thought. These are, so to speak, essential causes, and can be removed only by the comparatively slow action of increasing culture from generation to generation. But there are also causes which may be called accidental. Thus a writer has his imagination fired by the wonderful fitness of a word to express a special meaning, and he launches what seems to him his "new creation" upon the sea of literature. Unfortunately, however, the term has already other meanings, and these, when the freshness of the peculiar use has worn off, begin to assert themselves, and it soon becomes impossible, without some explanation, to ascertain which meaning is intended. Then, of course, there is the very common cause—much more pardonable in speaking than in writing—carelessness. And yet another, strange as it may seem, is the demand for definition itself. As experience proves, men readily forgive themselves faults that are avoidable, when they are censured for faults that are not avoidable. Hence, feeling that they cannot define completely, they do not define at all. We shall get more if we ask less. Yet, the least that can be asked is, accurate description of the thing under consideration and uniform use of the word. Terms ought to be, like faithful friends, always the same.

As regards the things which we are called upon to define, these are of three sorts. Some cannot be defined, though well known; some it is useless to define, because no uncertainty in relation to them exists; and some need to be defined

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that they may be identified. Yet let no one suppose that absence of definition is absence of knowledge. The peasant may be wholly unable to define a plough, but it does not follow that either he or any fellow-labourer to whom he speaks does not know a plough. There are objects of knowledge quite as familiar to all men as is the plough to the peasant, but which do not admit of definition at all. Every one will acknowledge that it is not definition to describe the meaning of a term in language less comprehensible than the term itself. Thus, for example, have we for that which is represented by space, time, matter, motion, force, self, any simpler or more intelligible terms than these? If not, then it would be contrary to reason to ask for a definition; or to pretend that, because we cannot define, we do not know self, force, motion, matter, time or space. May it not be said that the perceived impossibility of definition is, in these cases, a proof not of the littleness but of the greatness of our knowledge? For is it not because we know so much that we are prepared to say that that which we know cannot, from the nature of the case, be compressed within the limits of our defining phrases?

We have here the true answer to the atheist's demand in reference to God, and to the underlying assumption that if we cannot define we do not know. Indeed, it is because we know Him as manifested everywhere, yet as everywhere more than His manifestation, that we feel so strongly all attempts at definition must for ever fall immeasurably short of expressing even what we perceive of His perfections, how much more the perfections themselves. Definition is the expression of limits, and therefore there can be no definition where no limits are perceived. Still that is no reason for denying the reality of our knowledge. It would be manifestly false to say we do not see the ocean, simply because we cannot see its shores. It would be no less false to say we cannot know God, simply because we can perceive in Him no limits. St. Paul's philosophy was as true as his devotion was deep, when he taught the Church to say, we know Him who passes knowledge. Certainly this is the largest and highest

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and deepest knowledge we possess; nay, it is a knowledge to which all specific kinds are but tributaries; a knowledge which is always increasing, but whose increase itself perpetually serves to show that the Being whom we contemplate has no limits in space or time.

It appears, then, that our conclusion that no definition is possible arises, not as assumed from ignorance, but from knowledge of God. Even if it were not possible to know, we might still know *of* God. Even though we should never know God in Himself, that does not prevent us knowing Him in His works. Even if knowledge were defined as comprehension, shutting out apprehension altogether; even if we had no knowledge of God at all, that fact would not in the least justify the atheist's position. For it is not a question of knowledge only—it is also one of belief. Are we not all familiar with the truth that there are often reasonable grounds for believing where there are no means of knowing? The fact is, the greater part of all that passes for scientific knowledge is only scientific belief. So long, then, as we have grounds for belief in God, the absence of knowledge, were it a fact, as atheists wrongly suppose it to be, would afford no reason for Atheism. We conclude, therefore, that the demand for a definition of God is one which is as contrary to reason as it is revolting to reverence.

Definition is, however, always necessary where some uncertainty exists as to the sense intended. We have thought it well to give two or three examples, asking our readers to extend, at their leisure, the list for themselves. It is desirable to notice in passing, that many words employed in this controversy have departed, more or less, from their original or proper meaning. In some cases it is now hopeless to recall them within the limits their derivation suggests; in others, the effort, in the interests of exact thought, may well be made; and in every instance it ought to be clear which of the meanings we intend. The first example we give is the word Infidelity. Originally, it meant unfaithfulness, and had no reference whatever to scepticism or doubt. On the contrary, it rather implied obligation or duty recognised by conscience,

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but ignored in conduct. It may, therefore, be legitimately applied to those who in profession live for Christ, but in fact live for themselves. The infidelity of professing Christians is the most formidable foe with which Christianity has to contend. That they so often live contrary to their professions is logically a condemnation of themselves, not of their creed; but practically the result is to weaken faith in the reality of Christianity, and to afford occasion to the avowed enemies of Christ to say that His religion is a failure. The case is different when we regard the weaknesses of Christians. Faults that are not intentional, still more faults of which the Christian has not yet become conscious, cannot be rightly taken as illustrations of infidelity or unfaithfulness. Besides, Christianity is, in one of its aspects, avowedly a process of salvation, and it is no more reasonable to take a man who is being saved as an example of complete Christianity than it is to take a man who is recovering from a serious illness as an example of perfect health. It is those who pretend to be set on the service of Christ and are not who are the real infidels. At the same time it must be admitted that this is not the common or popular use of the word. In every-day language an infidel means any one whose teaching or belief is opposed to Christianity, and is used indifferently for sceptic, freethinker, atheist, agnostic, positivist, secularist, deist, and sometimes rationalist, or even unitarian. This undiscriminating employment of the word is not so common to-day as it was twenty-five years ago, but it is very objectionable on at least two grounds. It leaves quite uncertain which of the several opponents we have in view, and it carries with it an implication of evil motive which, at least, ought not to be taken for granted. For while many, without doubt, become infidels in the second sense only because they are already infidels in the first sense, yet there are others of whom no such assertion can be truly made. And in these cases it is wrong to use the word, since it implies what we do not or ought not to mean. Our terms should not be larger than our ideas.

The word sceptic is open to a like criticism. A sceptic

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was at first one who sees, and may have next meant one who is trying to see, and then one who is uncertain as to what it is he sees; then one who seeks the truth, but is in doubt as to what is the truth; and finally, as doubt so often ends in unbelief, one who denies. In some instances, it is employed, indeed, as meaning one who seeks the truth yet with the emphasis on "seek" rather than "truth." The present writer was on one occasion speaking in public on this subject, when a hearer rose and said, "After all, what is there better than seeking the truth?" The reply was, "Finding it," an answer which apparently astonished the inquirer as much as if it then entered his mind for the first time that the object of seeking *is finding*. My friend belonged to the class of men who are not only sceptics in the sense of being nominally perpetual doubters, practically perpetual deniers, but who are also quite satisfied to be *always* sceptics. This glorification of scepticism, as if it were something to be valued for its own sake, was once, and perhaps still is, very common. It appears to arise from a singular misuse of the word. It may seem odd, but it is true that scepticism is to some minds a sort of faith, almost a worship. The dictum that there is more faith in honest doubt than in half the creeds does not apply in this case. For here it really is not a question of doubt, whether honest or dishonest. The truth is, that what is called doubt or scepticism is simply a certain set of opinions or beliefs—a *creed* under another name. In some curious way these self-styled sceptics have managed to convince themselves that scepticism is but another name for intellectual freedom, political liberty, and scientific progress. One cannot help thinking there must have been something terribly wrong in the historic action of Christianity, as presented in the several churches, to render such a misuse possible. Happily, not only are men beginning to distinguish between the Christianity of Christ in the New Testament and the Christianity of the Church in history, but also the latter is gradually becoming more like the former. So, in time, all sincere souls will see and say that the highest, if not the only function of scepticism, is to make way for a true faith. Meanwhile, it is desirable to rescue, if possible, the word from its common misuse, and bring it back

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from denial to doubt. At all events, let us not give it a credit in the one meaning which it deserves only in the other.

It is worth while to look into this a little more in detail. There are from the present point of view four possible attitudes of mind, for two of which it is not easy to find appropriate words. The first is belief, the second is simple absence of belief, the third is doubt, the fourth is scepticism —in the sense, to use an objectionable word, of disbelief or denial, or what is now commonly meant by unbelief. The first and third present no difficulty; belief and doubt are terms that can scarcely be misunderstood. But the second and fourth—the simple absence of belief and the actual presence of disbelief—need some distinct terms; unbelief would etymologically serve for the third, but unfortunately it has already the sense of the fourth. Until some better words are found we can but call the second non-belief, and the fourth disbelief. The four attitudes of mind, then, may be thus expressed. The first, belief; the second, non-belief; the third doubt; the fourth, disbelief; with scepticism as wavering between the third and fourth.

Freethought (together with certain phrases that belong to the same class) presents similar difficulties. Freethinking ought to mean, but does not, thinking that is free. It is intended, perhaps, to have some such meaning when altered by unbelievers, but in common use it is only another name for one who rejects Christianity. There is some uncertainty as to what those who call themselves freethinkers really intend by the term. One might suppose they meant what the word in itself signifies. But when we find freethinkers denying the freedom of the will, what can they mean by freedom of thought? We need not dwell on the cases where freethinking apparently means freedom not to think; or, as the Bishop of Peterborough has put it, where men call themselves freethinkers before they have begun to think. But it is perplexing to find men to whom no such language can be properly applied, alleging, almost in the same breath, that men are the mere "creatures of circumstances," and that they, the unbelievers, are freethinkers. For logically it follows



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that either the unbelievers, as freethinkers, are not men; or if men, and therefore the creatures of circumstances, they are not free, and, therefore, not freethinkers. So again, where it is asserted that man is not responsible for his belief, since belief is determined by causes he cannot control, there is an explicit denial of freedom, and an implicit assertion of the immorality of blaming a man for what he cannot help. But if thought be free, then, on account of that very freedom, man is responsible for how he thinks; and, so far as thought affects belief (and it affects it very powerfully), for his belief also.

If by freethinking the unbeliever wishes to express opposition to creeds, he does not much better his case; for if the creed to which he is opposed happens to be true, then his freethinking has the misfortune to be false thinking. If to avoid this difficulty, he maintains that all creeds are false, then he but plunges deeper in the mire; for either he has himself a creed, which is only another word for belief, or he has not. If he has, then he alleges that his own creed is false, and his plight becomes infinitely worse than that of the despised believer, seeing that the latter holds a creed which he believes to be true, while the former holds a creed which he asserts to be false. But if he maintains that he has no creed, that he does not believe in anything, then we have in him either a being in whom the absence of belief is explained by the grandeur of his intellect, enabling him to dispense with all testimony, and to become, in the strictest sense, his own scientist, in which case he is a mental monstrosity; or else one in whom the absence of belief is explained by the fact that, if he once admits belief at all, he can no longer pretend to be a freethinker; in which case he so cynically denounces himself, that no further condemnation is necessary.

It is possible, however, that all that is meant is opposition, not to creeds, but to authority. But here again there is no escape from alternative positions. If by authority is intended the application of physical force, then there is here no argument against Christianity, which refuses to sanction carnal weapons.

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If by authority is meant the force of example, then, in order to avoid this, it would be necessary to break up the social life of the world; for assuredly, wherever two men live together, the example of each will tell upon the other. We cannot suppose that the earnest freethinker wishes to escape from what the Bishop of Derry has called the "noble coercion of the highest reason"—in other words, that he cares much for thought that is free, unless it is also true. We do not see, then, any possible meaning of the word that does not imply more than the unbeliever wishes. And the only freedom of thought worth contending for is this—"Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

It is, however, of great importance, to ask how far and in what sense the error of the freethinker may be laid at the door of the Church. That there is some relation of cause and effect between iron intolerance on one side, and wild licence on the other, is quite certain. It has often been pointed out that the scandals of freethinking on the Continent may be distinctly traced to the abused authority of the Church of Rome. But Rome is not the only sinner in this respect. Every bigot is a father of freethought. On the other hand, let freethinkers remember that *they* are the greatest supporters of the Church of Rome. The most dangerous enemy of reform is revolution; the most useful friend of bigotry is freethought. If reform must end in revolution—if the abandonment of bigotry means the acceptance of freethinking—then, of the two inevitable alternatives, we prefer the first. For though unreformed and bigoted we still preserve something of the ancient good; whereas, if we are swept by the storm of revolution into the maelstrom of freethought, we preserve nothing at all. The reason that thinks by law, and therefore does not pretend to be free except as this is freedom; the faith that, as belief, depends on the evidence for Christianity, and as trust reposes on the character of Jesus Christ, thus submitting itself to the canons of historic criticism and the conditions of moral progress; the love that, more than anything, symbolises the Infinite, and which, by a blessed contradiction, seeks and finds its freedom only in the service of man,

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and therefore of God; the conscience that regards, with unutterable scorn, every suggestion of freedom from restraint, and responds only to the absolute, "Thou shalt," or "Thou shalt not," of God;—all these disappear in the wild whirl of opinions variously called infidelity, scepticism, freethought. Men may be forgiven if they decline to step from the solid ground of their ancient faith into such a sea as this!

Yet when all is said, the bigotry of the believer is less excusable than the excesses of the unbeliever. For the excesses of the unbeliever are the natural outcome of his unbelief; the bigotry of the believer is an unnatural concomitant of his belief. To refuse to do right for fear we should do wrong is intelligible but not respectable. To refuse to recognise what is true, for fear we should seem to recognise also what is untrue, is to become indeed the slave of appearances. It is unworthy of the Church of God to take into account, in estimating the value of non-ecclesiastical thought, any other considerations whatever than those of justice and truth. It has been said (but not to justify the non-recognition of good in the midst of evil), "All things are lawful, but all things are not expedient." That is certainly scriptural common sense, if it be interpreted as intended, thus: "Among the things that are lawful there are some that are not expedient." But the principle applies only to lawful things, and injustice and untruth are never lawful; and it is never expedient to shut our eyes to justice and truth, from whatever point of the compass they come. Truth is the universal heritage, justice the universal obligation; and if Christians differ from other men in this respect, it is only because Christ has made to them the obligation more profound, the heritage more precious.

But it is well to remember that it is justice and truth, not unthinking liberality, which are needed when it becomes our duty to estimate the value of opinions. No doubt a certain amount of sympathy is necessary to comprehension, and without comprehension a judgment cannot, of course, be just. Nevertheless, no other verdict than that of justice and truth is of any real value. Now it has happened not unfrequently of late that the opinions of Christian men about the systems of

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unbelievers have been greatly coloured by admiration of the genius and sympathy with the motives of their authors. In some cases, indeed, Christian theologians appear to have more sympathy with scepticism than with Christianity. At what may be distinctively called the Broad Church Congress, lately held in Manchester, there were speakers whose heads were perhaps with Christians, but whose hearts were manifestly on the side of sceptics. One can understand this as a reaction. But it is carried so far as to suggest that it is comparatively unimportant whether a thinker be a Christian or not, provided he is in earnest, and can express his opinions with literary grace. Now this attitude of excessive liberality is as truly unlike the genius of Christianity as is the opposed attitude of rigorous intolerance; and it is perhaps even more injurious both to the Christian and the sceptic. For unjustifiable as rigorous intolerance must always be, it at least recognises the supreme importance of the subject, which the opposed attitude does not. But there ought to be no question either of tolerance or of intolerance. The one thing needful in regard to any opinion is to ascertain whether it is true; and then, with the exactness that only devotion to justice can secure, assign it to its proper place in the great treasure-house of truth. Just as sympathy with him who sins ought never to mean sympathy with sin, so sympathy with him who errs ought never to mean sympathy with error. It is for us who are Christians to study, understand, apply, and live the faith once for all delivered to the saints; but it is not for us as Christians to diminish its mass, or change its form, or lessen its importance, from any motive whatever. Too much kindness for the man who errs is hardly possible, but it is cruelty, not kindness, to teach him to think lightly of error. The world needs to-day what it has always needed — the pure, undiminished, sacred deposit of truth, faith; taught loyally, wisely, proportionately, and with infinite sympathy for him who sins or errs, but not, indeed, for the error or the sin.

ALEX. J. HARRISON.

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# CURRENT LITERATURE.

NEARLY a quarter of a century ago Dr. Robert Young published *The Holy Bible* (1) in a new translation. It was a great undertaking for one man, but he was a man of vast linguistic lore and indomitable perseverance. Noting what he considered to be the erroneous, confused, and lax renderings of King James' Revisers, he produced a revised text of his own, "according to the letter and idioms of the original languages." For those unacquainted with the original languages in which the Bible was written it is very helpful. It deserves a place in the library.

No more acceptable and useful present could be given to old or young than this *Short Life of Christ* (2). This century has produced no Life of Christ of more real and lasting worth than Dr. Geikie's. When many more showy works of a similar class are forgotten, Dr. Geikie's is destined to live. This newly published book is not an abridgment of his large work in two volumes, but is entirely rewritten. It is inviting in every respect, and vividly presents the amazing story in a moderate compass. The fifty illustrations which adorn its pages are wisely-selected as to subjects, and well-executed as works of art. There is a healthiness about its whole tone. We want more such books in order to drive away what is sentimental and sensational in religion. If orthodox divines would take sufficient pains, works might be produced which would at once interest and profit our readers. Dr. Geikie is unmistakably loyal to the written word.

*Jesus Christ, the Divine: His Life and Times* (3). Not nearly so readable a book as the above, but to those who desire to study the Saviour's earthly life, in its organic spiritual unity and moral relations, this seems to be the very book.

IN the present uncertain state of Assyriology, it is almost a hope-

(1) *The Holy Bible.* By Dr. Robert Young. Second edition, 8s. 6d. London: G. A. Young & Co., 1888.

(2) *A Short Life of Christ for old and young.* By Cunningham Geikie, D.D. Hatchards, W., 1888.

(3) *Jesus Christ, the Divine: His Life and Times.* By J. F. Vallings. James Nisbet & Co., 1888.



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lessly difficult task to rearrange the chapters in Isaiah, so that the events in his lifetime, the development of his doctrine, the growth of his spiritual life, may present themselves in a perfectly orderly array. Yet something very like this is attempted both by Driver's *Isaiah*, and Smith's *Book of Isaiah* (4). There was less danger in the method used in the former than in the latter work; for its main object was historical and biographical, not practical and devotional. We cannot help thinking that it is unwise to allow the theories of literary criticism to form the substratum of practical exposition. In this new departure we bid the editor of *The Expositor's Bible* to be careful. An exposition of Isaiah, in the order in which the book has come down to us as an integral part of the written Word, would have been the less ambitious, safer, and more satisfactory course to have adopted. Mr. Smith's exposition, however, gathers up some practically useful lessons for our times, and strikingly and skilfully bridges over the gulf of twenty-five centuries, and makes us realise the solidarity of the human race. In dealing with the sublimer parts of Isaiah, Mr. Smith is not so successful as a sacred orator. In his remarks, for example, upon the Trisagion, the wings of his rhetoric painfully flap.

MESSRS. LONGMANS & Co. send us three volumes of their admirable series on *Epochs of Church History* (5), written under the superintendence of Professor Mandell Creighton. His name is sufficient guarantee for sound scholarship. The Rev. W. Hunt has availed himself of mediæval chronicles in writing on "The English Church in the Middle Ages." Prebendary Stephens has consulted original contemporary records as well as modern works relating to the stirring times represented by "Hildebrand." Ugo Balzani has also gone to original historical sources for another striking period, that of the fierce struggles between "The Popes and the Hohenstaufen," which terminated in the extinction of the house of Suabia. The style of all these writers is clear and spirited.

*Musical Service—Is it right?* (6)—Under the cover of this title an anonymous Clergyman of the Church of England has had the

(4) *The Book of Isaiah.* By the Rev. George Adam Smith, M.A. In two volumes—Vol. I. Isaiah i. xxxix. Hodder & Stoughton, 1888.

(5) *Epochs of Church History*, edited by the Rev. Mandell Creighton., LL.D. By Rev. W. Hunt, Prebendary Stephens, and Ugo Balzani. Longmans & Co., 1888.

(6) *Musical Service—Is it right?* James Nisbet & Co., 1888.

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audacity to bring Musical Services—so fashionable now—to the test of Scripture and logic. It is written in a most earnest spirit by one who is devoted to the Master's service and glory, an able writer and scholar, who has brought both Hebrew and Greek literature to his aid, and has gone into the matter critically. He begins by telling us the subject "is one of great practical importance," which it really is. He does not advocate carelessness or slovenliness, which are too often *supposed* to be identical with an unmusical service. But his war is with artificiality, or the performance of a part in religious worship as a professional actor, rather than being a worshipper, worshipping "in spirit and in truth,"—the figure of Hendiadys, explained by the author to mean "*Really spiritually.*"

After explaining the nature of true worship under the New Covenant, our author produces twenty-seven reasons to prove that Musical Service, as such, is wrong.

One striking peculiarity of his style is to break off from the subject to illustrate or explain in detail some text or word bearing on the point in hand. To avoid the inconvenience of parentheses he has added eighteen important foot-notes, besides references, and four appendices. These are by no means the least instructive part of the book. If your ideas are on the other side of this question, answer and refute it, cross swords with the author if you can, and he is a foeman worthy of any Ritualistic steel.

*Strange Scenes* (7) are indeed strange scenes to Western eyes. They are a rich Palestine experience, one resides there in reading it: and in the light of Eastern life many a dark and hitherto apparently unmeaning passage of the Bible now appears full of power and beauty. *Strange Scenes* give some of the cream of Mr. Neil's Biblical discoveries in the Holy Land which throw new light on the Bible, though at a price very much less than we have usually to pay for other men's skimmed milk. The illustrations, forty in number, are by Mr. Henry A. Harper, the well-known Palestine artist. They form a striking and beautiful pictorial comment on many Scriptures which are opened up by the author to the surprise of the reader. This is a work which book-distributors should scatter by thousands, for it is not only a marvel of cheapness—probably the largest handsome penny book ever produced—but one of a thoroughly popular kind, well fitted to awaken indifference and to dispel doubt.

(7) *Strange Scenes*, by James Neil, M.A., with 40 original illustrations. 120,000—1d. Woodford, Fawcett & Co., 1887.

PRINTED BY FRANK MURRAY, 9 & 11 YOUNG STREET, EDINBURGH.

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# THE DÖLLINGER-REUSCH HISTORY OF THE INTESTINE CONFLICT ON MORALS IN THE CHURCH OF ROME.

## PART I.

THE name of either Dr. von Döllinger or Dr. Reusch, singly, would engage for any book the interest of scholars and men of thought; but the two names conjoined challenge redoubled attention. The new work on which those names stand together forms two octavo volumes, and bears the date of 1889. An important portion of the sheets having come into my hands before the booksellers could procure for me the work itself, I was not obliged to wait till New Year's Day before acquiring some idea of its contents.

Of the two volumes of this *History of the Controversy on Morals within the Roman Catholic Church since the Sixteenth Century*, the first consists of narrative, the second of documents.[1] The narrative, relating as it does to opinions, to their development and conflict, often opens out into exposition. It is always very clear, readable, and scrupulously faithful to the documents. This first volume itself falls into

[1] *Geschichte der Moralstreitigkeiten in der Römisch-Katolischen Kirche seit dem sechzehnten Jahrhundert mit Beiträgen zur Geschichte und Charakteristik des Jesuitenordens.* Auf Grund ungedructer Aktenstücke bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Ignatz von Döllinger und Fr. Heinrich Reusch, zwei Bänder, erster Band, Ss. 687, zweiter Band, Ss. 398. Nördlingen: 1889.



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two distinct portions, the first portion giving the history of the controversies on moral principle and practice, mainly as waged between the Roman Catholic Church in general, and the Jesuits in particular; the second portion giving passages illustrative of the internal history of the Jesuit order, and of its characteristics. In these we have, together with unknown episodes in histories previously known, other histories altogether new, each unfolding itself as the hitherto secret manuscripts are opened out. The abundant instruction conveyed in the Gonzalez episode is accompanied with a lively personal and polemical interest. So in another way is it with the episode of Liguori. That of La Quintinye, a man to me at least entirely new, is of deep interest, and the forms and settings are fresh. Touches illustrating Bellarmin's character, and that of others who have played a part in shaping the morals of courts and nations, are frequent; and if every page of the thousand and more needs study, no pages are dull except the few occupied with a mere statement of authors who have written on certain points—a statement of great moment to the student. The notes are a store of exact and helpful indications, at every turn letting in the light.

The authors regard their work as calculated to fill up a *lacuna* long felt, and felt by many in historic and theological literature. It was well known, say they, that within the bosom of the Roman Catholic Church had long raged a conflict of importance both for priest and layman. But practically all that had come before the general public to show the nature of this conflict was limited to the episode of Pascal and the Provencal Letters. But what heretofore has been little known and little attended to is the fact, that the controversy between Rigorist and Laxist raged within the Jesuit Society itself, that a General of that Society, supported by the Pope, strove to repress the movement in favour of laxer morals, which was encouraged by the bulk of the Company; and that the efforts of both in the end proved abortive. Two Dominicans, Concina and Patuzzi, had indeed supplied certain material for the history of this internal drama. The means, however, of giving a clear and complete account of it, one unfolding the

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motives and judgments of contemporaries, were afforded to the authors by treasure-trove dug out of the archives of Munich, and consisting in hitherto unknown letters and memoranda. The general struggle in the Church between Rigorist and Laxist was drawn out all through the last century. Now France, now Italy, became its chief theatre, but everywhere the Jesuits were the principal actors. The Order was suppressed, the Order was restored. At its suppression many hopes were entertained of deep-reaching reforms in the discipline of the Church. At its restoration it came back with its darling doctrine of Probabilism. That doctrine the Society has upheld and set forward until it has attained to a dominion such as in former times it was far from possessing. Furthermore, the elevating to the altar, and the solemn proclamation as the unassailable Doctor and Teacher of the Roman Catholic Church of Liguori, has won for the doctrine of Probabilism not only its most brilliant, but its most practical victory. No one will confound with the ordinary title of Doctor in Theology the altogether special and rare title of "*Doctor of the Church*," not "*in the Church*," whereto with much display was elevated a person so unlikely as Liguori; Pius IX. might in this act see only a due reward to the hardy advocate of Papal Infallibility, as contrasted with the Infallibility of the Church; but others saw more. "For a parallel to such an event," say our authors (*Vorwort*), "we should in vain seek in Church history. How this has come to pass, through what ways and byways, through what windings and vicissitudes the catastrophe was wrought out, have we here, for the first time as we believe, set forth with such measure of completeness as at present is attainable."

The two volumes, running as they do on parallel lines, are necessary one to the other, not in the common relation of prelude and sequel, but as text and comment, or as statement and authority. For instance, the first document in the list is a protest addressed to the General of the Jesuits, Oliva, by Father La Quintinye, against the lax moral teaching prevailing amongst his brethren of the Company in his own province in Gascony. The title of this in the table of contents is accom-

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panied by a reference to the place in the first volume where its tenor is described. By this means at every point the reader can turn from the analysis of the authors to the original, or, when reading the documents themselves, can turn to the narrative exposition and judge how far the authors, justly or otherwise, represent their contents. The documents are in Latin, Italian, Spanish, and French; notes to them, summaries of contents, and so forth in the German.

As it will be here used, the word Practice must not be misunderstood. It but slightly refers to the personal conduct of the priest in his private walk, but almost exclusively to his official conduct in the tribunal as confessor and director of penitents. If he hold the principle that marriage contracted without the consent of parents is null, not merely censurable but null, that cannot directly affect his own relations, seeing he is not to marry with or without consent of his parents. Very soon, however, will such a tenet affect his "practice" when, as judge in the "tribunal," he has to decide whether a certain sin, confessed under sting of conscience, is to be remitted or not. "He told me," says Father La Quintinye, "that he consoled her and sent her away tranquil and pacified, saying that the matter was of no importance."

What was this matter of which the Jesuit confessor told the woman that it was of no importance, *dixit rem esse nihili, sicque tranquillam (ut aiebat) et pacatam dimisit?* The matter was this, as stated by Father La Quintinye:—A certain noble virgin, against the will of her parents, privately, but in presence of the parish priest and of several witnesses brought on purpose, married a nobleman. Some months later another nobleman sued her parents for her hand, to which they consented. For fear, she concealed her private marriage. She was married a second time and lived with the man. Some years afterwards, stung by conscience, she told her confessor, "one of ours," says Father La Quintinye, that she had two husbands, a first and legitimate one, whom, out of fear, she had forsaken, a second with whom she lived. This case the confessor cited to his brother Jesuit, adding, as we saw, that "he had consoled her" and sent her away content. When asked

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for his reasons, he simply replied, that considering, as he did, the opinion of those who teach the nullity of a marriage contracted without consent of the parents to be a probable opinion, he acted in the manner described, and took it that he had acted right well.

This simple instance illustrates the practical influence of a principle, and its influence over others as well as over the person who embraces it. It also shows that in a confessor or spiritual director private conduct is, in point of moral significance, of subordinate importance as compared with the principles of conduct which he instils. In fact, the more correct the walk of a man who, in the inner tribunal, should administer the moral law on loose principles, the greater would be his power of corrupting society. The same remark applies to teachers who in the pulpit propound lax moral principles. In the accrediting of such, a man of irregular life could exercise little influence, but one of correct life great.

The five interesting documents of the La Quintinye episode open the case of Rigorist and Laxist in such a manner as to give one, who will take the pains to master them, a tolerably good view of the theoretical points in dispute, and at the same time of the practical bearing of the theories. Next to mastering the nineteen pages of closely printed Latin, the best thing is to peruse the readable and faithful analysis of our authors in the German. The General, Oliva, found rather tedious the statement of La Quintinye reclaiming against the deteriorated condition as to morals of the Society. The epistle greatly taxed his time—was one *non exigui otii laborisque egentem.* We may, however, take it for granted that all will not receive Father La Quintinye, now for the first time made known to us, in the same state of mind as did his General. He simply desired to keep the man quiet. He was resolved that the dispute in the Society should end; and therefore while acknowledging the virtue of the remonstrant, held his zeal not to be according to knowledge, and treated the controversy as idle contention. He would not have conflicting opinions, forgetting that the views impugned had come up as new views, had been censured by great writers and public authorities of the Church; but had been pertinaciously pushed forward.

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Between the three inner circles of jurisdiction—Rector of College, Provincial, General—the connexion is illustrated by two curious pieces. Of these, the first consists of charges against La Quintinye, preferred under fourteen heads, and the second of his replies *seriatim*. These charges had been secretly laid before the Provincial, who does not give any names of accusers. They allege errors in doctrine tending to Rigorism. The replies protest that the opinions of La Quintinye are distorted; that his true ones are those of the Scriptures, the Fathers, and the Popes,—he scorns the accusers who dare not meet him face to face, or even to put in writing any false doctrine of his heard from his lips or found in his writings; all they dare even behind backs to say is, that they conjecture that he holds such and such errors.

Father La Quintinye, having already carried his complaint from his Rector and Provincial to the General, next proceeded to carry it from the General to the Pontiff. In the first case, his action represented only the conflict as carried on within the Company of Loyola itself; in the second case, it represented the conflict as carried on between that Company and the general body of the Romish Church. In the fifth of our documents, addressing himself to Innocent XI., La Quintinye says, "Most blessed Father, concerning the wretched state at present of our Society, in which I have passed more than thirty years of my life, I have to lay before Your Holiness several matters of great weight and moment, whereof Your Holiness, peradventure, may not be informed. . . . I come a suppliant to the common parent of the entire Church to notify him of the condition of our affairs, in order that, of his singular charity and prudence, he may take measures against such evils; for assuredly adequate measures against them had ere now been taken if our chiefs, who daily commend to others obedience, did not, with sundry arts, decline to yield obedience to the decrees of the holy and apostolical See."[1]

[1] It may be well to give the original of this passage, as it illustrates peculiar relations which at times arise between the Pope and his subordinate authorities—relations of which an example has of late occurred in Ireland, and that, too, on a question of morals:—Quapropter ad communem totius ecclesiae parentem supplex

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As heads of complaint he specifies—"(1) Bad moral doctrine; (2) Evil practice arising out of this doctrine; (3) The conduct of his chiefs in fomenting this doctrine; (4) The 'arts' for foiling Papal decrees, particularly in keeping from the knowledge of the ordinary members of the Society such decrees of the Holy See as censure too great liberty of theorising upon moral conduct, or of procuring that those decrees, when known, should be neither submitted to nor obeyed. He proceeds to say that it is for the Pope to consider, whether by such means the Holy See, and indeed the whole Church, is not mocked, seeing that before the Pontiff 'our men' profess one thing—namely, that they are strict observers of 'apostolic constitutions,' that they abhor laxity, and that the General often enjoins restraint of lax teaching, saying that offenders will be punished, while, on the other hand, these same officers secretly, and in private letters, exert themselves to bring the minds of all members of the Society into accord with the lax opinions published by its writers, which have been censured. Therefore, he concludes, by solemnly urging upon His Holiness one measure—namely, that the decree which is said to be in preparation on these matters shall, by express order of the Holy See, be once a year read in every house of all the religious orders. Without such a provision, he fears the decree will be futile, especially in France; because ever since its preparation began to be spoken of, he had heard it constantly said that "such decrees to be valid for us, so as to hold us to obedience, must be made known to us by our superiors."

With this letter he sends the one in which he had long previously laid the whole case before his General; and with allusion to the arts whereby the members of the Society are kept in subjection to the Chiefs, says that he does not fairly lie open to the reproach of having known of the matters complained of without representing them to the Holy See, because

accedo illi significaturus quomodo se res nostrae habeant, circa id ut pro sua singulari charitate et prudentia tantis malis provideat, quibus profecto jam satis fuisset provisum, si Præpositi nostri qui quotidie caeteris obedientiam adeo commendant, Sanctæ Sedis Apostolicæ decretis parere variis artibus minime detrectassent (vol. ii., p. 18).

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he had repeatedly written to former Popes, but knew not whether his letters had ever reached their hands. So to the Pontiff did this troubled priest send his elaborate statement thirteen years after he had written it for his General. He signs himself *Sanctitatis Vestrae Humillissimus et obsequissimus in Christo servus P. La Quintinye Sacerdos S. J.* He dates from Pau in 1679, and his whole story is in the days of Louis XIV.

What then are his complaints? In the first place, one of false doctrine as to morals. "I know," says La Quintinye, "what doctrine St. Ignatius, what Congregations in Rome, what our Generals in Epistles have commended, but all these injunctions, notwithstanding, the evil seems to grow in proportion as it is prohibited. An axiom prevails in this province, which if it be, as I believe it is, perverse, will eventually corrupt and dissolve all moral doctrine if it do not abolish it. By implication it contains all of laxity and corruption that is found in the most notorious authors on moral doctrine. Already out of it have sprung innumerable errors, laws human and divine are struck down (*profligantur*), countless sins are excused; in fine, everything is disordered, and because chiefly of this axiom, if I do not err, some of our Society, as fame has it, have in these matters offended, and now almost everywhere, as was indeed noted by our latest General Congregation, the Society is evil-spoken of and traduced." The axiom in question he names as that touching *bona fides*. It runs thus—*bona fides in one who doeth anything evil always excuseth him from sin;* or more briefly, never is anything sin which is done with *bona fides*.[1]

They argue, he states, that as St. Paul declares that whatsoever is not of faith is sin, so whatsoever is of faith (*ex fide*) is not sin. Thus he shows they mean by *bona fides*, that the conscience of the doer pronounces the deed to be not sinful. Wherever the doer judges himself in performing a certain act not to commit sin, there never can be sin, whatever evil he may do. This is the dogma, he cries, for which our men fight as for hearth and altar. This, they proclaim, is a doctrine akin (*germana*) to the Society, the doctrine which every Jesuit

[1] "Bona fides operantis aliquid mali semper eum excusat a peccato vel quod idem est quidquid fit bona fide nunquam est peccatum" (vol. ii. p. 2).

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holds; and often have I heard it asserted *that never is there a sin save where the doer has that actual and present knowledge by which he judges himself to do evil.* But such actual and present knowledge of doing evil cannot co-exist with *bona fides*, therefore wherever *bona fides* is, there sin is not.

Whence, then, does this *bona fides* which excuses from sin come? It comes into the heart *in cor hominis introducitur* by two means, one intrinsic and the other extrinsic. The intrinsic is when the reason of the doer himself represents to him that evil thing which he does as a thing not evil, not to be shunned, whether this (state of mind) may arise from negligence in seeking for the truth, from blindness of heart through sin, from too great eagerness in worldly affairs, or from any other culpable cause whereof he is the author, and which he should remove, as he is bound to do and can do.[1]

So much for the intrinsic source of good faith. Now as to the extrinsic—that consists in the authority of theologians. It requires a few authors, or in any case one, only he or they must be held by the doer of the action to be learned and honest. With them ("our men"), he continues, such is the value of "authority" that it excludes all doubt, yea, all scruple of running into danger of sin in any given action, and thus introduces *bona fides* into the heart of the doer; for they aver that he acts with prudence who acts on the opinion of men by him believed to be learned and honest, and that whether these doctors do err or do not err. Now, he who acts with prudence may truly reckon that he does no wrong. In the lips of our men, he adds, nothing is more common than the saying, "Such and such an action is indeed sin, and he who commits it sins, unless, however, he is excused by *bona fides.*" Or again, "In such a case, such an one did not sin, because he did not reckon that he was sinning. Any one sins so far, and

[1] "Medium ab intrinseco est ratio ipsius operantis, quæ id mali quod operatur, illi repraesentat tanquam rem minime malam aut fugiendam, sive id fiat propter negligentiam in inquirenda veritate, sive propter caecitatem cordis per peccata, sive propter nimios animi affectus erga res terrenas, aut quamcumque aliam causam culpabilem, cujus ipse est autor et quam deberet removere, ut tenetur et potest" (vol. ii. page 2).

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no farther than as he thinks that he sins; *tantum peccat quis, quantum putat se peccare et non magis.* The illustration of the principle is then given. "If Peter committing fornication think that he sins mortally, then he sins mortally; if he think that he sins venially, then he sins venially; but if he think that he sins not at all, then he sins not at all" (vol. ii. page 3).

What, then, is the amount of authority which will warrant one in thinking that in doing a certain action, generally believed to be sinful, he does not sin? Must many authors concur or several, or on the contrary will one suffice? Some, he asserts, contend that one will suffice, provided the person believes him to be learned and honest. Moreover, does a person sin if he seek after an author who will allow the act in question, and when he has found him will do the act? Busenbaum holds that such do not sin, for this reason, that they intend to follow a probable opinion, and Busenbaum is, laments La Quintinye, in the hands of all our men. Hence the doctrine of Probabilism comes to this, that any opinion affirming the lawfulness of an action given by even one teacher whom you esteem learned and honest, warrants you in holding that action as lawful, and that your own estimate *at the time* of its lawfulness or unlawfulness decides your innocence or guilt. But in the sequel it will appear that by many Probabilists, even the guard of your own approbation is withdrawn, that also being overridden by an "authority."

Here is no room for any such principle as this: "Happy is he that condemneth not himself in the thing that he alloweth." If the man's own mind at the moment allow the deed, then he cannot condemn himself, and God will not condemn him. A banker learns that two of his clerks have robbed him, but that one of them, though he had fallen into crime, felt that he was sinning, and now feels that he did sin, but the other has a theory of pay and self-compensation which prevents him from thinking the robbery wrong, and now prevents him from feeling condemned. According to our theory this man is no sinner, the other is a great one, and that just in proportion to his correctness of judgment on the sin of theft. The banker will have his opinion as to which of the two is the more dangerous man in a bank.

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Father La Quintinye does not fail to give illustrations of the practical application of these principles. Some of our men declare, he says, that they have met with women who, in committing fornication, do not sin, for they do not think that they sin. Our authors speak of what they call *haarsträubend* examples. One is of a confessor who declares that when he found it impossible to persuade a certain nobleman that it was sinful to do as he intended, namely, to give false evidence in an approaching trial in order to save a friend from loss, he gave him absolution. The next cannot go in English—*Alii in confessionibus audiendis invenisse se quosdam jam ætate grandiores qui non peccabant coeundo cum pecore.* Again he declares that he had heard a certain Father Confessor, in presence of the rector of his own college, and his consulters, boldly assert that a mother, in a given case, had not sinned, seeing that she firmly believed it no sin to act as she did. *Audacter affirmavit fœminam qui saepius sciens et volens rem habuerat cum filio suo in hoc non peccasse quia* (*inquiebat supradictus Pater*) *illa fœmina putabat firmiter non esse peccatum matrem cum filio Commisceri* (vol. ii. p. 4). The position of this "benevolent" Father, viz., that in a case so heinous the woman was without sin, naturally resulted from other positions which La Quintinye says were maintained in presence of the rector and his consulters, none but himself (La Quintinye) objecting. These positions are, "In order that anyone here and now shall sin, it is necessary that here and now he shall know and deem that he sins." And again: "Whoever firmly, that is without doubting or hesitating, reckons that here and now, in doing what he does, he is not acting wrongly, does not here and now blamably sin before God, nor does he merit a penalty for such a work, whatever he may do." As the essence of this doctrine he cites another position taken up by the same Father P. N.—Theologians of great name teach this or that, therefore this or that is true, or certainly probable. This proposition (affirms the said P. N.) is a principle or axiom. These, cries La Quintinye, are the doctrines which I lately brought to the notice of our Provincial; but, so far from rebuking them, he wondered that I did not share them.

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I shall only remark that this doctrine on the one side exalts private judgment to a height above all law and authority, and on the other makes authority seem to be the sole warrant of private judgment! It exalts private judgment above all law and authority, for what I deem to be innocent is to me innocent, say law and authority what they will. For a second reason, because the opinion of the one or two or more theologians, which opinion is called authority, acquits me, only provided I myself deem the men to be learned and pious. Moreover, these are but private persons, and their expressed opinions are only the utterance of their private judgment. Yet while thus exalting private judgment, the doctrine makes what is called authority seem to be the sole warrant of private judgment. For the opinion of a writer or writers, being accepted as that of the learned and honest by my private judgment, is called authority. This whimsically-constituted authority is then made the sole ground on which is based my innocence in doing an act generally believed to be sinful. My judgment that the bad act is innocent renders it innocent, and the judgment of another man lifts my erring judgment above blame. No place here for the "deceivableness of unrighteousness," none for the allowing of yourself in that which condemns you, your deepest condemnation being that you not only do it but allow it, as "quite fair" in yourself; ay, and take pleasure in it as done by others.

The practical consequences of such a theory of morals are thus summarised by our reclaiming Jesuit: "According to the doctrine of *bona fides* always excusing from sin, taken as they explain it, countless unbelievers have not sinned when in many things, because of corrupt usage and habit, or because of evil counsel, they in good faith acted against the law of nature; for instance, when they worshipped idols, sacrificed their children to the gods, in honour of their gods slaughtered the martyrs, or celebrated foul rites with indecency, fornication, adultery, and other such actions. No more do countless heretics sin, when in good faith they persecute the true Church of God, lay waste its temples, slay the pastors of the Lord's flock. Nor yet do the faithful sin, or

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any wise put in peril their salvation, when in countless number, under the shield of *bona fides*, they daily war against the divine law with divers and manifold abuses in usury, simony, false witness, calumny, sacrilege, and omission of duties pertaining to their office, secular or sacred, with other similar things whereof the world is full." Yea, he avers, the Probabilists do not shrink from these consequences.

In the tribunal all this has to be put into practice by every confessor, just as his view of the criminal law has to be put into practice on the bench by every magistrate. In passing on to treat of the practice, La Quintinye refers to the rule for confessors laid down by Caramuel to this effect: "In the tribunal of confession, since thou art the judge, and sins are such evil deeds as are done against the judgment of the penitent, thou oughtest to follow not thine opinion but his, and to philosophise and judge after his mind!" Wherefore, he adds, "they—that is, his colleagues—assert that a confessor dealing with penitents of quality, whether men or women, should question them only respecting such sins as they confess; not respecting other sins which they do not make mention of to him. For the confessor ought to assume that if the penitents do not confess them, they do not reckon them to be sins, and therefore they do not sin;" since, on being interrogated by the confessor whether they have anything further to say, the penitents reply that they have nothing further.

Be it here noted that if, on the side of the theory already spoken of, the private judgment of an author was set up as judge of the law, and the private judgment of a man or woman drawn away of desire was set up as judge of the worthiness of the author, here, and that expressly, is the private judgment of the "penitent" (a word abusively employed as equivalent to a person in the confessional), is set up as judge of the Confessor. What the person making confession happens to reckon as in him or her no sin is to be covered up from trial or sentence. All I shall here add is to give the notable consequence drawn by these Jesuit fathers of Aquitaine from the pregnant antecedents here laid down as axioms. And I must give not only a close rendering of our original, but the

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marks of quotation: "It is more proper," they say, "to leave penitents in that state in which they do not sin, than to give them the occasion of sinning, by making manifest to them the sins which they do not see, and in which they sin not (as these reasoners will have it) unless, indeed, it be materially" (vol. ii. page 6).

The term "materially" is the schoolman's antithesis to "formally:" for instance, if by accident I kill my child, "materially," the act is one of manslaughter; "formally," it is not blameworthy, provided there was no negligence. Now, then, we have seen that when a nobleman intended to take a false oath, a Probabilist Confessor held that whatever the deed might be "materially," it was in him no sin "formally," seeing that his non-perception and disbelief of its sinfulness robbed it of the malignity of sin. Thus he was consoled with absolution. We have also seen that the noblewoman who had two husbands, though self-convicted of sin, was also consoled and absolved, the authority of the Probabilist Confessor being, in her case, put forth to reduce what was "formally" an act of falsehood, fraud, hypocrisy, impurity, and breach of civil law, to the significance of an act which was only "materially" irregular, and one under the weight of which a noble lady might be tranquil and at ease. Both perjured nobleman and bigamous noblewoman were consoled by the "benevolent" morals of a Probabilist Confessor.

The personal relations and incidents of the La Quintinye episode, as revealed in these documents, are extremely interesting. Still more so are those of two other principal episodes, that of the long struggles and harassing trials of the Jesuit General Gonzalez, in his vain attempt to stem the tide of laxity; and that of Liguori, his teaching, combats, and strange rise to rank with Augustine, and two or three others of the greater lights who rule the day of the Romish Church. Into these episodes, as well as into the differing shades of Probabilism, I may in a second paper give some little insight.

WILLIAM ARTHUR.

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# WHAT IS A MIRACLE, AND THE PROOF OF IT.

IN the "Mystery of Miracles" all arguments that we usually draw from Faith and Revelation are laid aside. The unwarranted statements so positively made that there are no miracles, and never have been any, were refuted on scientific grounds. By hundreds of facts it was made plain that mystery and miracle are the source and foundation of nature, underlie all science, are everywhere, and interpenetrate all things. The following thoughts are presented that this glad and gladdening truth may be familiar as household words :—

## WHAT IS A MIRACLE?

A miracle is some creative manifestation of Divine power —not necessarily in matter, as matter is usually known; but always in force, and to our intelligence.

A miracle is a token of Divine Personal Existence and Presence in the world. It tells of Moral Being; of Power in, yet exceeding the material order of things; and proves the truth of any statement so attested.

A miracle is not contrary to, or subversive of nature; but wrought when time is out of joint on behalf of nature by Him who created and sustains nature. It is by the action of a controlling power to effect something beyond the use of ordinary means. The effect is never for derangement, but always for establishment of greater order. Even the Deluge was the means of bringing higher moral conditions. If a man rolls away a stone, that is not a miracle. If an angel roll one from Christ's sepulchre, that is a miracle. If a physician heals by use of medicine, that is not counted miraculous, however wonderful the cure. We do not count it a miracle if, when a man is pronounced dead and laid out for burial, he revives: the lifeless frame filling with life, and the cold sunk eyes



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becoming deep with meaning and full of glow. If Christ, with a touch, or a word, quickens a dead body, that is a miracle.

A revelation from God to man by vision or dream, by word or act; a prophecy of things that could not be foreseen, nor brought about, by human wisdom or power; whether for the world at large, a nation, or an individual, concerning doctrine, precept, ritual, sacrifice, law, are miracles.

A miracle is a mighty work, a Divine kindling of light for intellectual and moral purposes; an altering of the usual course, not to correct nature's blunders, not to repair defective machinery, not to abrogate law; a divinely free volitional act to meet, restrain, instruct intelligent creatures; and to establish special relations between God and man.

The providential ordering of events to accomplish any specially predicted occurrence is a miracle.

Natural process greatly partakes of the miracle. No limit can be set as to where either begins or ends. Every event, viewed as standing by itself, is a miracle: the multitude magnifies the marvel. When Professor Tyndall inadvertently touched a wire leading from an electric battery, the discharge went through his body. Life was absolutely blotted out for a very sensible interval without a trace of pain. He states that in a second or so consciousness returned. The appearance which his body presented to himself was that of a number of separate pieces. The arms were detached from the trunk, and seemed suspended in the air. Doubtless the whole of this was natural; but who will prove that the naturalness was not by a miracle interpenetrating every part?

The Godward intellect sees all as a miracle. When God is not in a man's thoughts, that man says of every miracle: "it is nought;" yet that man, if scientific, knows, so far as science is concerned, nothing warrants belief that nature, or any part of it, exists at any moment apart from Divine spontaneous action. It seems due to this action that, little by little, everything seems to work in its own way towards some good it is most fit for. Every advance from ignorance to knowledge is really a marvel. If we speak to the earth it teaches us; and sometimes an unbelieving man obtains a reply

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wonderful as that to Balaam, which revealed the animal's capacity to overcome in argument: the ass spoke, and spoke well. Sometimes we discern the future in an instant; with thoughts beyond the ordinary reaches of our soul. At other times we feel that our world is the outer yet beautiful porch of an infinite cathedral, where dwells the Divine magnificence. It is well, in seeking to have a sense of nearness to the miraculous, to imagine that, in full use of every faculty, we look on nature for the first time. The sight of her glory bursting like a splendid vision on the raptured gaze, excites powerful emotions: God is felt to be very near, we reverently worship.

Every miracle has two sides: subjective, in our consciousness; objective, external to our consciousness. Natural means may awake the consciousness, and present the object; or both may be a supernatural effect. The presentment is always to intelligence; and with such force that the spirit is without doubt as to the inward or mental view. Whatever the wonder experienced by Moses and Isaiah, by Peter and John, it was full of undoubted conviction as to the reality.

### OBJECTIONS TO A MIRACLE, AND REPLIES.

1. A miracle is so highly improbable, that it is more likely the few persons who say they have seen one are deceivers, or deceived; than that all the world besides should never have seen such an event.

Not so. All events, except those personally known by an individual, are contrary to his experience, therefore so far improbable; some very improbable. Daily experience shows that metals, all metals, are ponderous; but a few individuals are aware that the metal potassium is not ponderous. It is well known that ice can remain in the midst of a fire, formerly it was deemed impossible. The rarity of a miracle, rendering it more signal, is no ground for unbelief. An event in science, or art, or history, however unusual and improbable, is received as a fact when adequately testified of by qualified persons. The testimony for Scripture miracles, witnessed by millions of Jews in the wilderness who could not have been deceived; the myriads afterwards who witnessed the prophets' wonders, and were convinced by them; the marvels wrought



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by Christ and His Apostles, subjected more than once to judicial investigation; the course and fulfilment of prophecy—cannot be invalidated by the inexperience of modern unbelief.

2. The government of the universe is carried forward by general rules; not by special interpositions, which are marks of weakness.

On the whole certainly; but surprises, eccentricities, interpositions, marvels, are so many, that no scientific man now refuses to accept what previously was counted impossible. Day by day we are doing that which was never done before. The more we know, the more are we called to believe. Faith grows with knowledge which, by revealing the substance of things hoped for, gives evidence of those not seen.

3. The laws of nature are so fixed and continuous, that no change, no interference, no crossing, by any, even Divine power, can be detected, or should be thought possible.

Unbelievers in miracle are very guilty in making such inaccurate statements. It is ascertained that the apparent continuous fixity of things is a mask for operations so flexible, so variable, so interfered with every moment and everywhere by forces acting from all parts of the universe, that checks and interferences with gravitation, alterations in molecular arrangements, the direction of forces, the form and position of things, are of universal occurrence. As the worlds are constituted, fixity is not the rule. There is nothing more certain than that things do not continue in one stay. Government is maintained by ceaseless changes and crossings, as harbingers, omens, proofs, of interference by a higher power.

4. We know of Divine existence by the course of nature: we have no right to assign Him other attributes than we find in nature.

The reply is: Miracles being found in nature are part of its teaching. Scripture contains no marvel, no doctrine, of which the analogy may not be found in nature. He who made nature can change nature. We do not know all, nor have we reason to think all is done that can or will be done.

5. Great or small unnatural stoppages and changes in any part of the universe would derange every part. The arrest of our earth, the extinction or lawless wandering of a star, would cause universal confusion.

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Not so. The Almighty could, with more ease, arrest or blot out the whole solar system than we pluck a weed from the garden. Changes are not marks of weakness, but steps in an onward process, indications of a vaster scheme, perturbations by advancing influences, the earth is a subsidiary part. The present incompleteness of our greatest and best men, the slender effects of patience, love and work, are proof that the good in us is rudimentary. At the same time, so many are the wonders wrought by mental, moral, spiritual effort; and they are so in accord with vast physical transactions; that the world's benefactors have always felt "our destined proper home is in the eternal future."

6. General Objections.—There are scientific men who speak of eternally impressed consequences, of some necessary chain of orderly causation in nature, of infinite potentialities in matter, before it was like any known matter, by which new things, such as life, sensation, thought, will, were for ever being brought into the world, though really nothing is new.

We want more matter and less art in these objections. The proofs given are obscure rather than profound statements, are mutually inconsistent, and would not convince any one who did not start with implicit confidence in the truth of that which had to be proved. There is no defect in our systems of belief, from which scientific systems are free. The deniers of miracle are generally ignorant of the fact that the premisses of their science are inferred, and not yet properly determined. The fact is we cannot rid ourselves of mystery and miracle: they are everywhere. Nature seems spontaneously to do things as if she knew how. Metals and earths, crystals and plants, animals—specially human beings—have a sort of individual characteristic behaviour. The free-will which we act upon in thought and work, in law and morals, is weakly discernible in the voluntaryism of lower animals, in the sensitiveness of plants, in the earth bringing forth of itself, and in that complex balancing of action and interaction of which the universe is the ever-varying outcome. The automatism of lower things, and its reflex voluntaryism in higher things, could not act with sufficient regularity; nor could any

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finite intelligence have reasonable assurance as to the future, if laws were unduly or frequently interfered with, or could not be interfered with at all. A world with everything fated or uncertain would not be a good world for intelligent or responsible creatures. Miracles are in relation to those modifications of physical things which render religion and morals wonderful in their nature and effects. The depressing influence of sin is weakened, God becomes the present and final stay of the human soul, and it has no fears for the past, nor doubts for the future.

In considering the preceding six objections, as types of the various ancient and modern reasonings against miracles, one does not find justifiable unwillingness of common sense to revive old wives' fables; but determination to be rid of miracles at any cost. The devil, in old stories of diablerie, was sure to start up at the elbow of anyone who nursed diabolical plans, and psychological investigation shows that the willing unbelief of a godless spirit disfurnishes man's inner chamber as to spiritual faculties, and closes it against every sacred influence. This mental insanity or debility has analogies in the powerlessness to enjoy music, poetry, painting, sculpture, which disfigures some lives. Physical counterparts are found in colour-blindness, and incapacity to distinguish various notes as they combine in harmonies. Some men, in other respects highly intelligent, are insensible to the proof of Divine existence; though, as John Locke says, "it is as certain that there is a God as that the opposite angles, made by the intersection of two straight lines, are equal." Such men cannot see that the absence of miracles is irreconcilable with a true idea of an Eternal God, consistent with Himself, presenting to a free and erring world, persuasive, not compulsory proofs, of His sovereign rule. They suffer the greatest misfortune: congenital affliction with tendency to unbelief. It destroys their happiness, exposes them to temptation, the most beautiful part of their nature is aborted, true holiness is made impossible. They are always found short at the leap when put to the trial. The ruinous effects are traced in many individuals and families. The national effects, not naming others,

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are prominent in the godlessness, instability, vanity, of the French government and people; vices that once were as cobwebs are now shackles of iron. A pure heart given to worship; a sound mind, capable of noble thoughts; a healthy body, strong to labour; we should pray for, we should strive for.

If a man, tempted to unbelief, examined himself he would detect a growing inclination to indulge besetting vanities and lusts. Some poisons are so active, that a few drops will infect a whole fountain, and destroy precious life. One false principle, one taint of unbelief, causes irreparable evil. When men pale with fear, hands compressed in agony, life poured forth with terror, thus show that but to live they are ready to endure disgraces, accumulate crimes and sorrows, they present fearful pictures of the faithless. Those who, like butchers' dogs in the shambles, fatten on garbage and delight in slaughter, are examples of the fiendishness of men who fear not God. The so-called scientific and philosophical objections to miracles are not children of a true and vast intellect; they are the brood of subtlety, not the offspring of wisdom. Not to believe the manifestation of God by miracles is a confession of inability to discern the time because springs, counterbalances, wheels, all the inner machinery, are hidden away behind the face of the clock.

### THE PROOF OF MIRACLES.

To deny miracles is great folly: everything is due to miracle. Matter does not make matter, force not make force; both, traced furthest, rest on the transcendental—resolve into miracle. We are as far from explaining an atom as is Sirius from the earth. Life is the rhythm of the universe, the secret of all secrets: he who can tell the mystery knows all. These facts, so well investigated by science, are a response concerning the want for what may be called immediate knowledge that miracles are wrought every moment; and that many others may be wrought at any time by the will of God. Strange to say, the universality of miracle is used by the mania of unbelief to show that, where all is miraculous, there are no special or distinct miracles.

We reply—Not one potsherd has power to break another,

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save by Divine permission. Not a word is uttered but echoes through all time. Not a deed is done that will be forgotten. Not a prayer is breathed that stamps not itself by law on nature. Tact and skill, even more than force, control adventitious agencies to the winning of great results from remote and unseen events. Subduing matter by the power of thought, we make it the slave of mind. Every man is in himself an abridgment of the past, and a prophecy of the future. The meaning of common things becomes uncommon, and the capacity of our finite powers to create, develop, and adorn, shows that they are penetrated by a more excellent power—symbol of diviner things; and as one star exceeds another star in glory, miracle rises above miracle. The spirit of the age is the momentary pulsation of our heart and head, with use of hands, good or bad, as we make them accord or disagree with the rhythm of the universe. By light shining through the skeleton hands of poverty men read the mysteries of trial, and find amongst the unnoticed and obscure those whom kings may be proud of as subjects. Others, greater in spiritual science, discern natural and supernatural guidings mingling everywhere, and touching as do earth and heaven. Everything known reveals the Unknown.

The human spirit is more penetrative than logical, gathers more than it can garner. That natural events may be lifted into a higher science than the physical, the miracles of nature have counterparts in revelation. The narrative of creation records the origin, conditioning, and using of matter. Mechanical force, expending itself in motion, is a reflection of the Divine movement with which God makes everything to move, as of itself, in obedience to His will. Life lives not only by force acting on combined elements, but rises into the complexity of man who apprehends the Divine Being. Nature is the shadow, Revelation is the light. By means of both we have science and philosophy which know matter as a visible temporal representation of the invisible eternal Substance, know movement as the outcome of almighty Power, know forces as the symbol of infinite Will doing work.

Nature is one summary of miracles, Revelation is another.

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Revelation is the Divine Word to our intelligence. Another form of Revelation is Christ, the Divine Word in our flesh—abiding in the heart of believers. In ordinary miracles, God shows Himself for a moment, that we may know He is with us every moment. In the beauty and iridescence of heaven are the glow and refraction of light, for our physical eye. In Holy Scripture; in the Work, Person, Life, of the Lord Jesus; we have appeals to reason, and manifestations to conscience.

Which are the chief abiding miracles of our faith?

CREATION

is not something of which we obtain a crude notion. Our faith is a spirit of intuition, the gift of God (Heb. xi. 3), by which we understand that the worlds were framed. Understand—not merely think: possess a power of discernment by which we obtain evidence of the far-off, and a view of the unseen. Science, in the hands of unbelieving men, has been strained to the utmost and in vain to disprove this. Exacter science displays the truth of the divine narrative as grander and more accurate than the letter is able to declare—a miracle of accuracy in every part. The men and language of every day, by misunderstanding, made it seem other than it is, and would have put it away, but could not. Children delight in the theme; poets see in it a splendour; and the greatest men, in depths below depths, and heights beyond heights, read into every seeming inaccuracy a greater precision, and into all contradictions a confirmation of truth more excellent.

REDEMPTION.

The credulity of men as to things not in the Bible is a marvel. The acceptance by irreligious men of evolution, not as a partial explanation of the way God uses one thing to bring about another, but wholly to get rid of God, is the great delusion of our day. According to evolution, things began so long ago, and so slowly, that there was no definite beginning. Matter came together of itself from so vast a space, and during ages so endless, that it was eternally coming together, and did come together, yet never specifically at any time or in any place. From this, which was no beginning, things grew as if they had begun; and one thing

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became another though, for the most part, remaining as it was, until things are as they are. There never was any man so in God's image that he could fall; and being no first Adam to sin, there could be no second Adam to redeem. Against this theory, a shadow's shadow, of our being from the beast "that wants discourse of reason," redemption by Christ is the Divine protest. The doctrines and facts of original sin, of the Lord's incarnation, atonement, resurrection, and all the wonders connected with these are false, if evolution is true. There must be no mistake. If man rose from a beast, we ought to proclaim the doctrine of original merit. He is of singular merit, the merit all his own: for God did not make him—he made himself, or a pair of beasts, or many beasts, after considerable effort, none of them knowing what they did. We are not to worship God, but a something more insensate than any idol set up by lowest beings. Against this our consciousness, the greatest and best of witnesses, rebels; the universal common sense of our race protests; science itself begins to utter rebuke. The Old Testament preserved by the Jews; the New Testament kept intact by Christians, in prophecy and fulfilment, in types, ritual, sacrifices, laws, summed in Christ; are an authority accepted by the world's best men, condemning evolution as not less false than dishonouring to God and degrading to man. What greater proof of miracles than that which, to be rid of them, requires tenfold greater? Greatly is faith commended, seeing its bitterest enemies can give but grossest superstition in place thereof! When the parting hour comes, and our hidden faults, disguised sins, accuse us, can any sane man refuse that blessed redemption which sings in the winter of our life of the lifting up of day, and turns past evils to advantage?

### PRESENT WORKINGS OF DIVINE POWER.

There is no waste, science affirms, in the Divine economy; and miracles were always few, otherwise they would cease to be signal. Christ and the Church are the two great moral and spiritual marvels, with saving sanctifying grace of various supernatural signatures. In the sacraments are continual miracles. Men folded in communion with patriarchs, prophets,

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apostles, martyrs, receive benedictions, beneficences, and all the charities of heaven from ministers of apostolic succession. Men sit at the table of angels, put their hand into the dish with the king of all creatures, and heavenly so mingle with earthly things that mortality is swallowed up of life. Dying men receive light from on high. Their face at departing is as the face of an angel, and those standing near feel the presence of Him who is eternal. In use of prayer request is not limited to nature's use, it extends to Divine. Believers are engraft with the nature of the Holy by conversion to Christ. The Divine Word conveys personal experience of help continually received, and believers know special wonders by law of the spiritual kingdom. There are crystals by polarisation of forces, organisms by unconscious operation, intelligence by conscious process called cerebration,—these manifestations of energy are changed in our most gifted men to ascents of spirituality approaching the supreme, to premonitions of a final state absorbing all transitory life. They know of an eternal world gathering into itself the whole spiritual population of the universe to form a grand simultaneous existence. The millions of men, from all climes and times, who passed through mortal states; the angels of all worlds in their ranks, are being formed into one glorious host of glorious work. This constitutes one of the present miracles. The miracle of miracles is

CHRIST.

Gather first-hand from nature the molecules of the human body—not to replace or renew a pre-existent form, but to make a new being; the molecules being put in the same positions, with the same forces, as those constituting a living man. Will there be a sentient living creature? Science says there is no valid reason why there should not. A man, thus divinely prepared, would be as the Adam of Paradise. Christ, the Adam of the Wilderness, divinely prepared, made of the woman, shrined the Perfect God—bodily. Woman was by the Lord transcendentally taken from man; afterwards, man was by the Lord taken from woman. In Christ's two natures, as in Nature generally, are the natural and the supernatural in one Being. The more wonderful the truth, the more real.

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Christ did read human thought; not sinning, did bear human sin; did works never before done by man; every inward tendency represented some outward reality; even as the mortal body contained the Divine Personal Form. Seeing Christ was, in a sense, seeing God; He was the Supernatural in Nature, and Nature in the Supernatural. The whole of Nature came to view in His miracles: matter, to do homage to mind; force, to be controlled by Spirit; mortal life, to be transformed by the Immortal. Christ has done more for morality than all other men for physics. The science of the world, as the old Babel builders, leaves the tower to heaven unadvanced and in confusion. All the good is of His doing. He, "a Jew," makes all the world akin. He had no learning, as of the school, yet He is the Light that lighteth every man. His childhood does not explain His genius; nor His nationality the universal power of His teaching. Where, in any other poverty, are such riches? In any other so sorrowful life, fulness of joy for all? He transmits influence from generation to generation, the spring of progress; and without Him the centuries and nations are silent and powerless. He is winning, and must win, universal dominion; though all the powers of evil, human and Satanic, are leagued against Him. Words molten in the fire of His heart, elaborated in His Divine intellect, came forth with intense earnestness, calling us; and we shall certainly answer every one in his own place.

No light subject has been handled, no little question as to this or that marvellous act, but the truth of the miraculous credentials of Christianity; that every man may have in his own mind a miniature of the universal miracle; in his own reason the microscope for searching investigation; and, like the Apostles, possess unfaltering assurance of the Divine Presence. The pages of the book of our life turn quickly. The leaves of the universe fold slowly. In that little time we learn lessons for the great time, and endeavour to perform every act aright. In the completion of God Almighty's plan we shall inherit true dignity, and a destiny supremely glorious. Our spirit will not fail, our courage will not falter, our fidelity will not flinch, our life will be a triumph.

JOSEPH W. REYNOLDS.

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# SCHOOLS OF CHINESE WRITERS.

## PART I.

A VERY noticeable and important expansion of literature accompanied the invention of printing in China as in Europe. Printing was known in China in the Sui dynasty, A.D. 600, but Buddhism had put the nation to sleep then, and it was the anarchy of the tenth century that shook men's minds sufficiently to bring this useful invention into prominence. At any rate, whatever the cause of delay, we see early in that century, for the first time, books beginning to be printed on a large scale. This led to a succession of intellectual changes. The scope and tone of authors visibly became modified as the effect of extensive reading, and the collision of opinions developed in the works they read. Each thinking man had a large library, and from that time literature became richer, and assumed composite forms which were quite new.

Taking advantage of a decided fancy that the founder of the Sung dynasty had for Tauism, the Tauists stepped to the front, and began to print certain old works and compose new ones of a class adapted to produce a definite impression on the contemporary Confucian mind. As a consequence, early in the eleventh century, we find Shau yau fu, a most influential philosopher, publishing novelties on the *Book of Changes*, the old classic of Divination, with whose mystic diagrams all Chinese pupils who intend to graduate must begin to be familiar at about eleven years old. Shau yau fu read new meanings into old texts, and his views were adopted, and remain even now in the school editions of this book. They were based on the elemental philosophy of Babylonia, which, among the Greeks and Hindoo Buddhists, took the form of four elements—fire, air, earth, and water; and among the Persians and Chinese took the form of five—metal, wood,



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water, fire, and earth. Shau yau fu's system was a modification of it, and this is still the recognised physical philosophy of China. Yet it is dead, and only awaits interment.

The historical school of the eleventh century was most important. Si ma kwang, its leader, ought to be known in Europe for the noble idea he had of history as a moral teacher. He was in this something like Confucius. He placed the year at the head of each section in his *General History of China*, and a selected text in large type was followed by amplifications in small type. This method was new. He also wrote a small abridgment of the *History of China*, in five volumes—a model of conciseness. Ngeu yang sieu was a contemporary historian on the old lines, which present, as in Plutarch, each historical person in a complete biography, and adds dissertations on the various departments of the administration for each age, with brief accounts of foreign countries. A school of political writers sprang up at this time. The most conspicuous was Wang an shi. He attempted a revolution in taxation and in the agricultural system. A school of moral philosophy and comments on the classics of an orthodox type, led by very eminent men, commenced at this time, and took the form of a championship against the views of writers of the Han dynasty school, which were too physical and too astrological. The study of ancient vases, bells, weights, measures and coins, brought into existence a large class of archæological writers on these subjects. A school of authors on bells and vases, and another on the early forms of the characters engraved on these ancient implements, were the chief sub-divisions of the science of archæology as then prosecuted. Philology was represented in a twofold form. One class of authors studied sounds, and made dictionaries; another studied the laws of the formation of the characters. Poetry was represented by the Su family, the chief man of genius being Su tung po. Scientific inquiry was not unknown in this age. The most distinguished man in this field was Shen kwo, who studied the mariner's compass, and experimented himself on magnetism and the variation of the needle. There was a school of Buddhist literature at this time, and the division of the monasteries of this religion

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into sub-divisions, based on differences in teaching, which had begun many centuries before, went on now with increased vigour through the facilities afforded by the art of printing. Medicine, too, had its new works. Then there were about twelve schools of research, of literary inventiveness, and of intellectual speculation during this important century.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the most conspicuous name is that of Chu hi. He was a continuator of the orthodox school of the preceding age. He had great influence on education. His comments on the *Four Books* and on the *Classic of Poetry* are used from that day till now in every school, and he has been called the Modern Confucius. When the Sung dynasty had lasted 150 years many vases and bells had been collected in the emperor's palaces. The imperial work on antiquities, called *Po ku tu*, was compiled, and while it has too much of the peculiar Chinese philosophy, it helped to fix the canons of art for the period. China became more than ever conscious of the value of her old vases as relics of ancient art, and of high importance for historical research. The Buddhist monks had among them patient, hard-working students at this time, who produced works of importance for the history of their religion. Foreign influences increased with the conquest of North China by the Golden Tartars, and then by the Mongols. A school of romance and the drama rose suddenly into vigorous life, and as a result the mandarin tongue, the current speech of Northern and Western China, became a literary medium. In the eleventh century education had been improved by introducing works which compressed history into compendiums. The time was now come to teach far and wide history and morality by historical dramas and romances. This novelty brought about changes in the reading habits of the people, though not in the opinions of literary men, and was partly caused by foreign theatrical representations and music. These were favourite amusements to Tartar sovereigns and their courtiers. The Chinese play is entirely of foreign stamp in its construction and representation. Clever writers, whose names are not known or uncertain, took up eagerly the idea, and in a few decades composed an enormous quantity of historical and comic plays, with choruses and musical accompani-

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ments. To these were added colloquial novels, which became pictures in finished detail of the history of each dynasty. Persia and India had taken the idea of the drama from the Greeks, and now when the Mongols ruled China, and set up their thrones in all Asiatic countries, the drama became thoroughly naturalised in China, and caused there an entirely new sort of literary work, such as makes the people weep with its pathos, and inspires them with the ardent desire to be loyal and filial. To the kindling of the deeper emotions by the pathos of loving fidelity and noble filial piety is added an unfailing supply of amusing incidents and laughable rencontres, which help to keep the people light-hearted. The influence of this literature has been in China certainly of the most far-reaching kind, and it has for more than five centuries furnished the nation with its chief amusement. But who would have supposed that mathematical science would spring into vigorous creativeness just at the time when imaginative literature was developing in this remarkable way? Yet so it was. While in the south Chu hi was writing tomes of ponderous and grave philosophy, men possessed of a poetic spirit in North China were beginning to compose colloquial dramas and romances; and while music and song spread into every village, and the temples which were devoted to Tauist worship admitted the drama to minister to the amusement of the people, mathematicians here and there were elaborating a Chinese algebra from such gleams of Hindoo arithmetic as had shone in upon them through the extension of foreign intercourse. Travels in foreign countries at the same time became more common, and novels were written to combine stories of magicians and fairies with the wonders to be seen in distant lands. The press multiplied these books, and the ordinary village elders and the shopkeepers of market towns turned to account the education of their youth, and learned to read romances. While this was happening such a profound scholar as Ma twan lin was writing his elaborate critical view of laws, literature, ceremonies, and natural history, in more than a hundred closely-printed volumes—a monument of the author's candour and learning.

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw the literature of

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China crystallising into two distinct forms. The definite settlement of the examinations for degrees in the Ming dynasty led every student to give his chief attention to the essay style required by the examiners. This cramped the writing power of students, limited the number of able writers, and prevented a healthy literary development. Romances, however, continued to be written during both these centuries, and the influence of the literature of the Mongol period was confirmed. That literature was still popular in spite of its not being encouraged by the class of scholars. The people read the novels and plays, and the schoolmasters and officers read them too, because they woke up those emotions which give pleasure, but the literati did not cease to condemn them as deserving no serious attention. Narratives of foreign travel were published, and the geographical notions of the nation were improved by voyages to India and the Red Sea, which, from the twelfth century onward, they made with the use of the compass. Philosophy and poetry became less conspicuous in the literary firmament, for want of original power in those who studied them.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries philosophy underwent a change. Wang show jen studied Chu hi and his opponent Lu siang shan. He also read Buddhist works, and combined Buddhism and Confucianism in a new way. He initiated a new school in moral philosophy of an eclectic kind, finding good in all the three national religions, and thinking less of orthodoxy. The example of this philosopher has helped to impart intellectual freedom and toleration to native students of religion and of philosophy, and has somewhat weakened the hold of traditional orthodoxy on their minds. Natural history and medicine were studied at this period with success by the author of the *Pen tsau*, an extensive work on medicines and their uses. Original novels and plays now almost ceased to be written. Foreign countries continued to be studied with great interest. Roman Catholic books brought to the Chinese reader a knowledge of Christianity and Western science. Euclid, and books on astronomy and geography, had an excellent effect, and the native mind being at this time somewhat shaken in its attachment to the old Con-

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fucianism by the influence of Wang show jen, Christianity had a period of prosperity. The result was that the literary tone of book-making was improved. Argument became more scientific. There were more persons who appreciated natural philosophy. The literary zeal of Mohammedans now began to appear, and books were written to teach the dogmas of their religion, but they were only apologetic, never proselytising; and the effect of Mohammedan books in Chinese in liberalising or otherwise affecting native thought is not at all to be compared in extent to that of the works produced at that time in the Roman Catholic missions.

A new era had dawned. A most important change was now beginning in the study of the classics and antiquity generally. An effort was made by Ku yen wu and others to shake off the bonds of system, and clear the judgment of prejudices. Ku yen wu died two centuries ago. His school has lasted to the present time. The Sung dynasty authority was with him of little weight. Deserting its mode of criticism of the classics, he raised the standard of freedom. If he had been alone the effect would not have been so powerful as it has been, but many great scholars followed in his track and imbibed his spirit, and those who have since achieved a great reputation by their writings have all preferred to forsake the standard of Chu hi, and adopt such conclusions in their researches as the facts called for, without waiting to know whether they were or were not known to and approved by the Sung dynasty philosophers. This great school of independence in critical research dates from the seventeenth century. The Sung dynasty authors were disposed to exalt morality at the expense even of historical accuracy. Chu hi interfered in the *History of the Three Kingdoms*, and twisted it to suit his moral programme. Before his time it was not claimed for the Three Kingdoms (A.D. 220 to 265) that either of them was the legitimate inheritor of the Han dynasty rights, to the prejudice of the other two. In history the imperial title of the sovereign of each of the three kingdoms had been recognised. But Chu hi made the ruler of Western China the true emperor, and the other two sovereigns were usurpers. The critics of the new school decline to follow Chu hi in this

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needless upsetting of former men's work, and prefer to return to the view held by Si ma kwang and other historians. This example from history of the changes made by the new school shows what sort of faults they wished to see corrected in the work of the Sung philosophers, and what sort of credit they deserve for returning to a straightforward course.

Another example will show the character of the new school still more plainly. Hwang tsung hi studied the *Book of Changes*, and adopted a view the reverse of Shau yau fu. He condemned Chu hi for admitting Shau yau fu's diagrams into school editions of this work, on the ground that there is nothing to support them. He sounded a loud note of warning against the Sung dynasty philosophy. The Sung authors honestly thought they were right in making use of mystic numbers to explain the *Book of Changes*, but in this they fell into a snare. The Tauists succeeded in obtaining the insertion in Confucian books of some of their favourite diagrams. The magic square, counting fifteen every way, the diagram to represent cosmogony, the eight divining words of Fu hi arranged round the compass at certain points, are here. These things are of little aid to the scholar, except as waymarks in the history of philosophy. All that is useful in the *Book of Changes* is the moral and philosophical portion; but these misleading diagrams, being neither ethical nor philosophical, may be safely omitted. Chu hi then was wrong in retaining them, and Hwang tsung hi and the new school are right in decrying them. Good native critics tell us that the condemnation of these useless diagrams was first pronounced distinctly in the early part of the fourteenth century by Chen ying jun, who deserves much of the credit of founding the new school, because he pointed out the defects of the Sung dynasty criticism of the *Book of Changes*. It was not, however, till three centuries and a half had passed away that the age was ripe for such views. In the fourteenth century the influence of Chu hi was still paramount, as is shown by the fact that the system of literary examinations for the Chinese civil service was then completely organised in almost its present shape, and based on his opinions. But the move-



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ment of intellectual thought is to a large extent independent of the views and action of the Government, and when the best scholars in the country at the end of the 17th century adopted a reasonable criticism of the ancient books, their doing so produced no effect on the system of literary examinations.

In the seventeenth century the Ming dynasty came to an end, and the Ching dynasty commenced. The advance of the Chinese intellect in clearness of perception during the 260 years of the rule of the Choo family is undoubted. There was a falling off in the number of eminent literary names, but the eye of the nation was on the whole profitably withdrawn from metaphysics to natural science. When the Western geography, geometry, astronomy and physics were brought by the missionaries, they were accepted as they were taught. Philosophy lost its influence, and he who could make good cannon was considered a man of ability. The Ming dynasty made the system of examinations what it now is, but the programme was unfortunately tabulated at the beginning of the dynasty, and its defects are conspicuous. It takes no account of science, and it has forced education into too narrow a groove. Students give long years of study to acquire the power of writing an essay divided into eight heads and a few short poems. Beside this the literary shortcomings of the Ming period are further shown by the fact that the number of valuable works compiled by imperial commissions, and printed at the imperial press, was not so great as in the present dynasty, which commenced in 1644.

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have in their literary history done great honour to China, and shown that the intellect of the nation has not fallen back. The native genius is penetrating without being creative, and analytical without being constructive. Yet the present dynasty has been more creative of new science than the Ming dynasty, and it has compiled better dictionaries and cyclopædias. In these works passages are selected from the literature of all dynasties, and arranged under classified heads, which are named in the index placed at the beginning. Thus the cyclopædias are made up. Dictionaries of the better class contain as examples of the use of words citations classical, mediæval, and modern,

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in prose and verse. The history and ancient pronunciation of words are given. The criticism of ancient books has reached a point far in advance of any former period. Scholars of the present dynasty, having a wider range of reading, judge far more correctly of the claims of old books to acceptance than those of former ages did. Confucius was indeed an editor, but his mind was too exclusively occupied with moral judgments to allow of his taking the position of an independent observer and witness. This example of one intensely admired has so operated as to prevent, to some extent, Chinese scholars in all ages from accurately judging as to facts. But during the present dynasty independence and freedom have been exercised by many writers. What is particularly noticeable is that all eminent writers have exhibited a fair share of these qualities. It is not a mere sprinkling, one here and another there, that has come under the influence of this Zeitgeist.

The greatest constructive power of a literary nation is shown in the history of its philosophy. Thus in China, in the Chow dynasty and in the Sung dynasty, the philosophical power of the nation is seen to beat its maximum. When one philosopher appeared a dozen more appeared too. In both these periods this was true. The greatest periods of critical acumen, on the other hand, are found to be destitute of great names in philosophy. This was the case partially in the Han dynasty, but still more distinctly in the present dynasty. As to philosophy in China at present, it may be said, desolate is the dwelling of Morna. But criticism and science have made a good beginning, and they show that the intellect of the nation has not deteriorated.

In this condition of things it was an occasion of extreme interest when, two years ago, an encounter took place between the Conservative and the Progressive party in literature in the Court of Peking. Some one proposed that Kuyenwu and Hwang-tsung-hi should be honoured with tablets in the temple of Confucius. These men deserved honour as the founders of the new critical school, and the high value of the influence they exerted is shown by the improvement in scholarly literature since their time. The supporters of the Confucian doctrine, as taught in the Sung dynasty by Chu hi and others,

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did their utmost to resist this proposition, because these two men had opposed the common habit of putting too much confidence in that philosopher, and did not properly belong to the ethical school of the Sung dynasty. Any one who receives the honour of sacrifices in the spring and autumn in the temple of Confucius must be one who has helped to transmit the orthodox doctrine, which it was insisted these two scholars had not done. There was also a strong party in favour of their claims. But the numbers of those who were opposed, as compared with this party, was as two to one, and the result was that a decree was promulgated enacting that the two great scholars should be honoured with a place among "the virtuous men of the villages." This would ensure their receiving sacrifices, but of a lower grade. The Viceroy, Li hung chang, led the opposition. The opinions of the opponents are plainly that Chu hi ought not to be dethroned from his position of authority, that criticism is less important than the powerful advocacy of ethical doctrine, and that the time is not yet come for remodelling the system of examinations. It is to be regretted that the party gladly following the lead of Chu hi is so strong, for the authority of Chu hi is relied on to bolster up a system of physics which is unscientific, and ought to be abandoned. The Chinese school-books have not been revised for six centuries through the great repute of this one man. Consequently the people still believe in the dual philosophy of light and darkness, and in the five elements, without a suspicion that the system of thought which teaches these principles is supernatural and cannot be sustained. All honour is due to those who in this struggle of science against error were found among the supporters of modern progress.

Soon we shall see the scientific party reinforced by new adherents. The defenders of the Sung philosophy will regret their policy when they find, as they will probably soon do, that science, becoming stronger, will attack not only Chu hi, but Confucius himself. At present the men of independent thought are beginning to doubt if Confucius was so great a sage as he has been thought. They do not dare print this, but they are not afraid to say it in conversation.

JOSEPH EDKINS.

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# THE SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

THE prevalent feeling as to unfulfilled prophecy has undergone a great change. Formerly the mind of most men, even in the Christian world, was expressed in the witticism, "Its study either finds men mad, or makes them so." Now, all thinking men recognise that in the social, political and moral world our times are pregnant with issues of the most momentous kind. The Christian has what the mere worldly politician has not, a key to the solution of the perplexing problems of our age. We have "the word of prophecy made more sure" by past and present fulfilments, and "shining as a lamp in a dark place until the day dawn." Hence, to neglect this divinely-given lamp would involve us in our Lord's rebuke to the Pharisees, "Ye can discern the face of the sky but can ye not discern the signs of the times?"

If the investigation were merely for the gratification of curiosity, it might be dismissed as having no practical bearing. But since, whilst "the secret things belong unto the Lord our God, those things which are revealed belong unto us, that we may DO all the words;" and since God has promised a special blessing to them that "hear, read, and keep the words of the prophecy, for the time is at hand," our wisdom is to be "like the children of Issachar, men having understanding of the times to know what Israel ought to do."

A difficulty may here suggest itself: Our Lord announced beforehand certain signs to precede His Second Advent; and accordingly many have reasoned, His return cannot be in my time, because these signs have not yet been all fulfilled. Yet He with equal distinctness declares that His coming shall be as that of a thief in the night, in such a day or hour as men think not. How shall we reconcile these seemingly conflicting announcements? The answer is furnished by distinguishing, as Scripture guides us, between His



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coming FOR His saints, and His coming WITH them to inflict judgment on apostate Christendom and Antichrist. "The Lord Himself shall descend from heaven with a bidding word of command (κέλευσμα), and the dead in Christ shall rise first, and those saints that are alive, that are left, shall together with them be caught up in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air." He might have, and He might come FOR His saints at any moment, as St. Paul implies, before the signs predicted have come to pass; but His coming WITH His saints subsequently (Zech. xiv. 5) to decide the issue between Himself and the last Antichrist, must be preceded by the foretold signs.

The present age is defined by our Lord as "the times (καιροί, *the opportunities*) of the Gentiles" (Luke xxi. 24). In the Gentile season of grace, "the fulness (the full number) of the Gentiles" (the Judæo-Gentile elect Church) is coming in (Rom. xi. 25). When this season is closing our Lord foretells, "There shall be signs in the sun, moon, and stars, and upon the earth distress of nations, with perplexity," etc. Now this sign is being palpably fulfilled. The times of Israel's depression are closing by the emancipation of the Jews in almost all countries in this century; and, simultaneously, the near-ending of the times of the Gentiles is marked by the revolutionary disintegration of the monarchies and republics (succeeding the Roman Empire where the Jews have been scattered), through the democratic theory that all men are equal. S. Kellog, in his remarkable book, *The Jews*, observes, "The French Revolution made Israel's oppressors drunk with their own blood. As the thrones fell, the chains fell off the Jews. After the Revolution of 1848, the emancipated Jews ruled where before they had been ruled. As Fould and Cremieux in France, Jacobi in Berlin. The threatened disintegration of society arises from (1) Pantheistic Rationalism, of which the Jew Spinoza is the parent; (2) from Communism, of which the ringleaders were the Jews, Carl Marx and Liebknecht. The fundamental principle of their International Workmen's Association is, 'Property is Robbery.'" Stocker, the Berlin court chaplain, says, "Germany is threatened with de-Christianisation by the Jews."

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The preliminary stages of Israel's restoration, as foretold by Ezekiel (xxxvii.) are already being realised. The Turkish Government, which for centuries has held the Holy Land, is slowly but surely falling to pieces. The restrictions which had forbidden the Jews settling in their own country are removed; and not only in the country parts, but in Jerusalem itself, there is a considerable Jewish population, which is ever on the increase through accession of fresh immigrants. There is now a larger Jewish population in Jerusalem than that of Christians and Mohammedans put together. Bishop Blyth states, that whereas twelve years ago there were only about 15,000 Jews in all Palestine, now there are 25,000 in Jerusalem alone, and in all Palestine not less than 60,000.

Then the outbreak of persecution against the Jews in continental lands, Russia and Germany, is something surprising in an age of light and toleration. The Jews had been acquiring wealth and standing in Gentile lands, and were beginning to give up the hope of Israel. But prophecy solves the enigma. We see fulfilled before our eyes the words (Ezek. xx. 32-34), "That which cometh into your mind shall not be at all, that ye say, We will be as the nations. . . . I will bring you out from the countries wherein ye are scattered." For 1800 years the only attempt to reconstitute the Jewish state at Jerusalem, under the apostate Emperor Julian, failed through Divine interposition (balls of fire hindering the workmen): the time was not yet. Now, as Ezekiel foretold, there is a noise and shaking among the dry bones, bone is joining bone; there is going on an external process of national reorganisation, preliminary to their return in an unconverted state to their own land. Their conversion is not to be till the Spirit is poured on them in the day of their great tribulation there (Zech. xii., xiii., xiv.) But, politically, statesmen are now entertaining seriously the question, hitherto outside the range of practical politics, whether the best solution of the Eastern difficulty would not be the restoration of the Jews as a nation to their own land? The Turk must soon give up his hold on it, and the mutual jealousy of European nations will not allow Russia or any other great power to seize it.

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A striking sign being fulfilled in our days, as foretold in Ps. cii. 13-17, is the extraordinary interest taken in the localities and the very stones of Palestine: "Thou shalt arise and have mercy upon Zion, for the time to favour her, yea, the set time is come." The inducing *cause* is the deep interest taken in her by God's praying people; and the *time* is when her very stones will be objects of research: "For Thy servants take pleasure in her *stones*, and favour the dust thereof." Never since Jerusalem was first trodden down by the Gentiles has such interest been felt in identifying the exact localities and ancient stones of the Holy Land as now. Almost every famous site mentioned in Scripture is familiar to us now, as marked on the map of Western Palestine, completed by the Palestine Exploration Society. The "stones" of Solomon's Temple, with the subsequent additions of Herod; the marks of the Phœnician stone-masons on the base of the south-east wall of the Haram or temple area; Solomon's Palace: the arches of the bridge connecting the Temple Hill with the western city; the Greek inscription on the balustrade separating the court of Israel from the court of the Gentiles, forbidding any Gentile to enter on pain of death (illustrating Acts xxi. 28, 29); the Hebrew and Greek-inscribed stone marking the boundary without the walls of the Levitical city Gezer, at the exact distance given in Num. xxxv. 2-5; the Moabite stone of Dibon, inscribed by King Mesha in the 10th century B.C., so remarkable by its references to Omri and the cities of Gad, confirming Holy Writ (2 Kings iii. 4); the inscribed tunnel from the Virgin's Pool to the Pool of Siloam, of Ahaz's or else Hezekiah's time: the twin pools of Bethesda, accounting for the *five* porches in John v. 2 (four on the sides, and one between the two pools); the Reubenite altar of Ed;—all, and more, if space would admit of their enumeration, identify our age as "the set time" of the Lord's coming, foretold by the Psalmist (cii. 13-17); for it is "when the Lord shall build up Zion" that "He shall appear in His glory."

The droppings of the spiritual showers, foretold as precursory to the Lord's coming to reign, are already falling.

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The prophet Joel (ii. 23, 28, 29) foretells an outpouring of the Holy Spirit towards the close of our age, even as it began with the Pentecostal outpouring, "Be glad, ye children of Zion, and rejoice in the Lord your God, for He giveth you the former rain in just measure, and He causeth to come down for you the rain, the former rain and the latter rain: And afterwards I will pour out My Spirit upon all flesh." The full blessing shall come to the Jews first in the midst of their last great tribulation (Zech. xii. 10, xiii., xiv.); then to the Gentile world. The spiritual movement among the Jews of Bessarabia towards Jesus Christ, whom they and Rabbinowitz, their leader, claim as their "brother," illustrates this. The special revivals of religion in various lands of Gentile Christendom by evangelistic missions also attest it. Before the Lord comes to take His saints, and to inflict vengeance on apostate Christendom, as we might expect from His loving character, He gives one last message of mercy. Before the tempest the Good Shepherd gathers all His sheep into the fold.

Connected with this is the sign of His coming which the Lord Himself gives (Matt. xxiv. 14): "This gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a WITNESS unto all nations; and then shall the end come." The end meant is plainly not the end of the world (κόσμος), but of the AGE (αἰών). Nor does the Lord say that all nations are in this age to be converted. If He had said so, there would have been ground for the charge laid against Christian Missions, that after the preaching of eighteen centuries they are a failure. The Lord's command is, that His disciples shall preach the gospel as a witness to the world; and His revealed purpose is, when that witness shall have been completed, that He will come Himself to convert first Israel, and then the nations. Thus missions are doing successfully the very work which God appointed; they are being used by God, in "the times of the Gentiles," "to take out of them a people for His name" (Acts xv. 14), which with the Jewish "remnant according to the election of grace," as one Church, shall be at His coming the glorified Bride of the Lamb. Then on earth shall begin the millennial age, when "a nation shall be born at

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once;" and so "the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and His Christ." The sign of His near approach is the fact, that there is now scarcely a nation where the gospel has not been preached for a witness, by means of the vernacular Bible and the living missionary.

About the time of the end, the apocalyptic seer "saw three unclean spirits like frogs come out of the mouth of the dragon, and of the beast, and of the false prophet" (Rev. xvi. 13). As before the First Advent, Satan by his demons took possession of men's bodies, so before the Second Advent the anti-trinity of the evil spirit seeks to counterwork the good Spirit of God. "The unclean spirit out of the dragon's mouth," now especially repeats the old serpent's lie, "yea, hath God said?" denying plenary inspiration of Scripture: "ye shall not die," denying the eternal punishment of the lost; "ye shall be as gods," proclaiming man's apotheosis. "The unclean spirit out of the beast's mouth" (as the beast represents the world-power with face like the brute earthward, man no longer looking heavenward and reflecting the image of God in which he was made, and therefore, like Nebuchadnezzar, degraded to the brute-level, notwithstanding all his earthly culture), is in these "last days" especially seducing men to intense worldliness, selfishness, and lawlessness. Worldliness is what our Lord fixes on as the feature of likeness between the people just before the flood, and men at the time of His manifestation for judgment. St. Paul (2 Tim. iii.) gives us marks of the last days: "Men shall be lovers of their own selves, lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God, having the form of godliness, but denying the power." "Lawlessness (ἀνομία) in mystery," as it has been in mediæval Christendom, will (2 Thess. ii.) culminate in "the revelation of the Lawless one (ὁ ἄνομος), the man of sin, the son of perdition, whom the Lord shall destroy with the brightness of His coming." Our Lord also foretells the "abounding lawlessness" (ἀνομία, Matt. xxiv. 12), and that, because of it, "the love of the majority (τῶν πολλῶν) shall wax cold." The rebuke against the Laodicean Church, the last of the seven, which together represent the whole Church of all ages, is, "Thou art neither cold nor hot, but lukewarm." Could there be a better photograph of the majority of Christendom?

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"The unclean spirit out of the mouth of the false prophet" is already in part represented by the spiritualism and necromancy which have lately broken out. St. Paul (2 Tim. iii.) also foretells the revived pretensions of "seducers" like the Egyptian magicians, "Jannes and Jambres." If the alleged communications from the unseen world be genuine (and the spiritualistic publications may be named as legion), it certainly is not the dead who answer the necromancers, but demons personating them. Prophecy tells us that "sorcerers" shall be among those cast into the lake of fire at the close of the age (Rev. xxi. 8, xxii. 15); and that "the Lord Himself will come as a swift witness against the sorcerers" (Mal. iii. 5), and "will cause the unclean spirit to pass out of the land" (Zech. xiii. 2).

But the full manifestation of the false prophet is yet future. The last Antichrist to whom he shall minister is only manifested fully when the ten kingdoms (the last form of Daniel's fourth kingdom) shall have stripped of all her possessions the apostate church, or Babylon (*i.e.*, all outward Christendom, of which Romanism is the prominent representative, Rev. xiii., xvi., xvii., xviii., xix). The beginning of the process is one of the most significant signs of our times, that we are on the eve of the consummation. When the professing Church forsakes the Lord her husband for the world, she becomes spiritually "the harlot." Jerusalem the holy becomes "Babylon, mother of abominations of the earth." Isaiah (i. 21) furnishes the key, "How is the faithful city become an harlot!" God's retributive law is—the instrument of her sin is made the instrument of her punishment (Jer. ii. 19). The world-power on whom she rested, and whose scarlet livery she wore, being conformed to the world instead of being transformed to Christ's image, at last wearies of and casts her off. France, which first by the usurper Pepin gave the usurping see of Rome temporal dominion, was the first under the usurper Napoleon to strip her of it. The beast has similarly stripped the harlot in Italy, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Belgium. The process is not yet complete. The world is casting off its profession of subjection to the Church, and is abridging her privileges more and more, not only in Romanist

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but in Protestant lands. "Babylon" includes ALL Christendom, except the elect Church, the pure bride; as the Old Testament Babylon included all who amidst outward privileges retained the fleshly mind which is enmity with God: for (what proves "Babylon" is not to be restricted to Romanism, is) the Spirit by St. John predicates the same of the WHOLE New Testament apostate Church, that the Lord Jesus predicates of the WHOLE Old Testament apostacy down from Cain —viz., that in her is found ALL the blood of the slain saints.

As Babylon was upon the Euphrates, so "she sits upon many waters, *i.e.*, peoples, multitudes, nations, and tongues." As Babylon is termed "the great," so is she, and so is the Euphrates. Therefore the "drying up of the Euphrates' water" must mean the drying up of her resources, and the withdrawal of the peoples on whom she sat for support. It corresponds to the beast making her "naked:" compare Rev. xvi. 12, xvii. 1, 3, 15, 16, 18, xviii. 2, 15, 16, 17. Babylon the harlot is certainly not Mohammedanism. Therefore the drying up of the Euphrates, upon which Babylon is, cannot mean (as so many interpret it) the present waning of the Turkish empire. Nay, Mohammedanism was the harlot's scourge. Nor is Mohammedanism Antichrist. For Antichrist shall deny the Father (1 John ii. 22); but Mohammedanism owes much of its success to its vindicating against the apostate church's "lords many" the truth—"There is one God."

The weakening of the Mohammedan empire, simultaneously with the draining of the apostate church's resources, is a significant fact of our times, seeing that the usurpations of both began about the same time in the seventh century. Both have persecuted the Jews. As the fall of literal Babylon, by Cyrus' drying the channel of the Euphrates, prepared the way for the return of the Jews through Cyrus, so the draining of mystical Babylon, apostate Christendom, and that of Turkey, which has long trodden Jerusalem under foot, is "preparing the way for the kings from the East," Israel and Israel's King.

The waning faith of our day, with its impatience of dogma, its unblushingly avowed Positivism, Secularism, and Agnosticism, is fulfilling the predicted sign of His approach, "When

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the Son of Man cometh, shall He find faith on the earth?" The growing realisation of the communion of saints at this very time, when men (as was foretold) are tempting God with stout words, "It is vain to serve God," is a sign closely allied to the former. When men "call the proud happy," "then they that fear Jehovah speak often one to another, and Jehovah hearkens, and a book of remembrance is written before Him for them that fear Jehovah and think upon His name; and they shall be His in the day that He does make a peculiar treasure" (Mal. iii. 13-16, iv. 1). How sweetly suggestive it is that the same Greek (ἐπισυναγωγή) which expresses the assembling or gathering of the saints for communion on earth, expresses also their gathering together to Jesus at His appearing. The communion together now is the earnest of perfect and eternal communion then (Heb. x. 25; 2 Thess. ii. 1). The frequent conferences of Christians for prayer and study of the Word are fulfilments of this appointed sign of the end.

Growth in knowledge of the prophecies, but little understood in past times, is another of the foretold signs of the time before the end. This sign is certainly being now fulfilled. In Dan. xii. 4, 8, 9, viii. 26, the divine direction is, "Seal the book to the time of the end." But at the time of the Gospel revelation of what had been previously veiled, it is, "Seal not the sayings of the prophecy, for the time is at hand" (Rev. xxii. 10). "It was sealed to Daniel, for then the time was distant; it is unsealed to us, for the end is near." The fuller understanding of it at the close of our age is further foretold: "Many shall run to and fro (*i.e.*, scrutinise every word; as the phrase means in Amos viii. 12, run to fro in diligent search), and so THE knowledge (of it) shall be increased."

Earthquakes, famines, pestilences in divers places, "wars and rumours of wars," have been in other times also. The peculiarity of our days is, those physical phenomena, foretold as signs by our Lord, seem to be intensifying and converging now towards a focus. Scientific men have noticed the increase of earthquakes in this century above any preceding one. Mr. Mallet, C.E., states that the number recorded from 1800 to 1882 is 6637; whereas from 1500 to

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1800 it is 2804. All the great powers are armed, expecting at any day a universal and deadly conflict.

Instinctively, therefore, now the weary world sighs for its only Deliverer. The Mohammedans look for the second coming of *Isa Mussa* (Jesus). The Hindoos believe in the last coming of Vishnu, the second person of this trinity. Just as, according to Tacitus and Suetonius, there was "an ancient and common opinion" before the First Advent that One was coming, sprung from the East, who should rule the world, our thinking men of the world see and feel that there is no barrier to arrest the advancing wave of Socialistic anarchy but some one Ruler, at once beneficent, righteous and absolute.

Just as at the First Advent there were the three schools of thought—the Pharisees, the champions for legal ritual and church traditions; the Sadducees, accepting the Pentateuch, but denying the resurrection and angel and spirit; and the Herodians, the time-servers, who regarded religion as a useful political engine, and only so far as it did not interfere with worldly interests, subserviency to the ruling powers and the favour of man: so now, just before the Second Advent, we have Ritualistic Sacerdotalists, Latitudinarian Rationalists, who doubt all that is supernatural in Scripture; and worldly professors, who make gain, pleasure and ambition their chief concern, and give the self-denying religion of Christ a secondary place. Here we have the seed plots ready for the deadly sowing of the three evil spirits out of the mouths (the organs of speech) of the dragon, the beast, and the false prophet.

The expiration of the mystical 1260 days or 42 months, or "time, times, and dividing of a time," *i.e.*, 3½ years, is by most interpreters with reason thought to be imminent. But as the terminus *a quo* is debated, and as futurist interpreters believe these periods to be literal and still to come, it is better to restrict ourselves to the signs which seem beyond dispute.

One last sign remains to be noticed: the remarkable analogy between our times and those preceding the First Advent of our Lord, as respects the unification of the world. The providence of God then remarkably prepared the nations for

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the manifestation of Messiah. Had He come earlier, the progress of the Gospel must have been slow, owing to the isolation of nation from nation, and the barbarism in which so many countries lay; and also the barrier which the want of any generally understood language and literature interposed. But precisely at the time when Rome combined the nations in one almost universal polity, and with one state language—significantly marked by the emperor's decree that all the world should be registered for taxation (Luke ii. 1), "the days were accomplished" for Jesus' birth; so now the hedges are being broken down between the peoples, not merely of Europe, Western Asia and North Africa, as at the First Advent, but on a grander scale between all nations near and far. "We are living," said the late Prince Consort, "in a period of transition which tends rapidly to that great end to which all history points—the realisation of the unity of mankind. The languages of all nations are becoming known and being put within the reach of all. Thought is communicated with the rapidity and by the power of lightning." By the railway, the telegraph, the telephone, and kindred appliances uniting the peoples in solidarity, the grand field is all but ready for the manifestation of the Lord Jesus to sweep out the unbelieving, and then to "take His great power" and reign as "King over all the earth" with His transfigured saints.

Thus we have given good reasons, we trust, for the blessed hope we cherish, that it is no dream of enthusiasm. We speak the words of soberness and truth. We know that faithful is He who hath promised, and who will never break His word. We cannot but be wise in taking heed to the signs which His providence and His word alike are now giving us. Let our motto be, "Praying, loving, working, watching." As a lady in the glow of her first love wrote: "Safe, happy, thankful, waiting."

"I am watching for the morning
When He who for me died,
In triumphant state returning
Shall claim the Church, His Bride."

A. R. FAUSSET, D.D.

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# "BELIEF AND CONDUCT."

MR. LESLIE STEPHEN'S clever essay in the *Nineteenth Century*[1] suggests some thoughts which may perhaps tend towards a solution of the very large and very interesting question which it discusses. I hope that in what I shall say I shall not do any injustice to him or to his essay.

Some of the points which he touches incidentally, although they are interesting in themselves, I may not stop to notice. How far Paley's line of argument, or Cardinal Newman's theory of development can be defended, I will not attempt to say; nor in what proportion popular superstitions alloy even the purest of creeds; nor whether an idolater is rather to be classed as an atheist or a theist of a low order. Avoiding these and other collateral questions I will confine myself to what is, I think, the main drift of Mr. Stephen's argument —the relation of morality to religion.

I must however, as a preliminary, take leave to protest against a misrepresentation (I doubt not, unintentional) of the essential doctrines of Christianity. A Gospel which heralds peace and forgiveness, and which, whatever else it may be said to omit, certainly lays a paramount stress on inward holiness, is described as "bullying men to act as if they were good." The God of the Christian is spoken of as a "jealous, arbitrary, revengeful tyrant, to be pacified or enraged by mysterious charms," as "taking sheer pleasure in the torment of a sinner" as "exacting a savage and vindictive punishment." That which in the New Testament is a subordinate motive, a counterweight to the seductions of vice, a help towards realising the greatness of the deliverance, is made to be the very core of the evangelic teaching, as if it were the great message of the Gospel, that

[1] No. CXXXIX.



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"all sins lead to infinite sufferings." The self-sacrifice on the Cross, and the love which prompted the guiltless One to identify Himself with the guilty, are summed up in a stereotyped phrase about "God punishing the innocent." Surely this cannot seriously be accepted as an adequate description of Christianity. It is a travesty, a caricature.

It is surprising also to find from a writer of Mr. Stephen's calibre the assertion which, whatever may have been the errors of theologians, it would not be easy to substantiate even from the testimony of historians inimical to Christianity, that "theology has been opposed to the innovations which contain all possible germs of improvement." And it really seems as if it were possible to be conversant with other subjects, and yet to be unconscious of what is going on in regard to religion, when, in an age notoriously prolific of religious sects and of religious controversies, we read that "the creeds of to-day are not vigorous enough to throw off heretical branches," and that "the most intelligent part of the world has ceased to believe."

Again, and this is of scarcely less importance than the misrepresentation of Christianity, it is surely a misstatement of the whole question to speak as if believers in Christianity claim that the truth of what they believe can be demonstrated. Mr. Stephen speaks of "the demonstrable truth of a religion," as if such a thing were possible. He argues from the analogy of scientific demonstration . . . from Euclid's propositions, Archimedes' theory, Newton's doctrine of gravitation on the one hand, and, on the other, from the exploded "geocentric theory," as if the correctness of faith in unseen verities could be proved with the precision of a problem in mathematics.

He puts into the mouth of the Christian, "I am absolutely certain that the ultimate cause (of things) is the existence of a Being of whom I know nothing," in place of "I h the reasons sufficient, practically, for believing (not for being ay be lutely certain) in the existence of a Being, of whom piritual all that I need know for this life." "natural

When we come more particularly to the quest conceivable relation of religion to morality, there is the sar the "natural



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inability to appreciate the real standpoint of advocates of Christianity. They are represented as affirming that "morality is caused by a belief in Christianity;" that "morality dropped from the clouds about 1800 years ago;" that "morality is the product of a particular creed;" that (to use Mr. Stephen's own illustration) "Christianity is the ultimate cause of good-will towards mankind."

This is to attach a fictitious meaning to the phrase which Mr. Leslie Stephen combats, "the dependence of morality upon religion." Rather, in saying that morality depends upon religion, we mean not only, what indeed Mr. Stephen admits, that, speaking generally, morality finds in religion a motive and a sanction, but that (as even adversaries allow) morality is elevated, purified, ennobled by the teaching of Christianity.

The creed does not create the consciousness of a distinction between right and wrong, but it enlightens and develops it. It brings out clearly and fully the characters traced, as it were, in invisible ink; it emphasises and expands man's surmisings about duty and God. In this sense it may fairly be maintained that "morality depends upon theology."

The converse of the proposition is true. Religion depends upon morality, inasmuch as the strongest appeal which religion can make is an appeal to the enlightened conscience of mankind.

Mr. Leslie Stephen may term this a "vicious circle of argument," but where the subject-matter is hypothetical and experimental there must of necessity be recourse to what is nothing more nor less than a mutual corroboration. After all, for practical purposes, if the ethical excellence of Christianity is granted, there is a probability of the doctrines being true as well as the precepts. To a certain degree this vi admitted by Mr. Stephen. "The fact that a creed has men satisfied the intellectual and moral wants of mankind is tions clusive proof that it has some value," and may serve, delivera vs, as a "verification." It would seem to follow, that teaching, hics of Christianity are unique in their excellence, f which they are an integral part holds a position que in its claim to be believed.



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But Mr. Stephen argues (and paradoxical as it may sound, it is not an argument to be dismissed lightly) that the moral excellence of a religion may, from one point of view, become an argument against the credibility of that religion. "The reasonableness of a belief," he says, may be regarded as that which accounts "for its existence." In one sense this is indisputable. If a religion merely formulates what people have acknowledged already without its aid, it brings no credentials of this kind worth noticing. But is it so in regard to Christianity? Theologians, Mr. Stephen reminds us, insist on the suitability of the Gospel to the circumstances in which it appeared, that it "was adapted to the various wants of the time." But before proceeding to infer that the Gospel was therefore merely the product of the age it is to be observed that the Gospel was, without question, on many points of great importance, diametrically antagonistic to the age in which it made its appearance. It came sympathising tenderly and profoundly with the needs of humanity, but, as every student of history knows, it confronted the inveterate prejudices and prepossessions of the world, without fear and without favour. It pandered to no selfishness in high nor low. Mr. Stephen says (what, indeed, is true generally) that "the quality produces the institution" as much as the "institution the quality;" but in the advent of Christianity the antecedents are wanting which should produce it. No theory of evolution can explain the origin and growth of Christianity, if the character of its surroundings is counted in.

To infer from the moral loveliness of a creed that the creed is true, is not to say that we ought to accept the creed—whether true or false. We must not believe, just because we wish it. Mr. Stephen makes the advocates of Christianity guilty of this sophism. "The old creed," he makes the advocates of Christianity say, "*whether true or false*" (the italics are not his) "is so beautiful, so consoling, so ed spiritual that a world from which it had decayed would be into "natural

No one who cares for truth would try to prop up conceivable ity in this way. The conscience would be killed the "natural effort to save it. "A lie as to my religiou

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Stephen says rightly, "(though) dictated by amiable motives is a lie." But all this involves a misapprehension. We say not, the results of Christianity are so beautiful that we will hold it fast whether truth or fiction; but, the results of Christianity confirm our faith that Christianity is true.

This brings us to what is indeed the real question underlying all other questions about "Belief and Conduct." Why do we, who call ourselves Christians, believe as we do? "Right belief," Mr. Stephen says, "is determined by a clear perception of facts." What then are the facts on which the belief in Christianity rests? Why do Christians believe in Christianity?

The very name supplies the answer, too often missed. Because we trust Him who is the Christ. Too often in controversies about Christianity this seems to be lost sight of. And yet everything really turns on this. Have we or have we not reason for trusting Him whose life on earth, death, resurrection, are recorded in the Bible? The Christian answers, yes; because there never has been one like Him, perfect in holiness. If I can eliminate sin from my calculations; if there is no such thing in the world as sin, or if I do not care whether there is or not; if there is any other than Christ who can help me as effectually to overcome evil with good in myself, in others—then the argument for me is worth nothing. But if I really long, as did Saul of Tarsus, to conquer this baneful influence, corroding, destroying all that is fair and good, and if I cannot find elsewhere what I want to make me able, then the argument draws me to the Christ irresistibly. Difficulties, perplexities, mysteries, there will be still, such as are inherent in a limited intelligence environed by almost limitless experiences—the existence of evil, the incompatibility of man's free will with God's omnipotence, and vi[illegible]orth. But just as you trust a friend, proved your friend, men[illegible]u trust Christ, and because you trust Him you accept tions [illegible] emanates from Him, doctrine and precept—and you delivera[illegible]hristian. Other evidences may be subsidiary, but the teaching, [illegible]Christian or infidel, must turn on this, Is Christ ——————[illegible]y or not of credence?

I. GREGORY SMITH.



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# CREMATION AND THE CLERGY.

THE question of the disposal of the dead is one which is of almost equal interest to clergy and laity; perhaps, I may say, of especial interest to the clergy, because they have so wide a control over burial places both in town and country, and they are so likely to be asked to solve the doubts of some of their parishioners as to the choice between burial in the earth and cremation. There are some who doubt whether a return to a so-called "heathenish" custom may not be irreligious or unchristian. It would be impertinent for me to say much as to the possible danger foreshadowed by a former Bishop of Lincoln (Wordsworth), who said that "some weak-minded brethren" might have their belief shaken in the doctrine of the resurrection. But I am reminded of the reply of the best of the Shaftesbury's: The late Lord said to me, "What an audacious limitation of the power of the Almighty!—what has become of the blessed martyrs who were burned at the stake?" And I cannot help repeating what another Bishop —Fraser of Manchester—remarked: "No intelligent faith can suppose that any Christian doctrine is affected by the manner in which, or the time in which, this mortal body of ours crumbles into dust and sees corruption." To the same effect spoke Canon Liddon in the pulpit of St. Paul's, "The resurrection of a body from its ashes is not a greater miracle than the resurrection of an unburnt body; each must be purely miraculous." I will say no more on this part of the subject than to express my own conviction in the belief repeated week after week in all the churches of our country in the "resurrection of the body and the life everlasting," or the "resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come," however this may be understood, or whatever may be the idea of the "spiritual body" which is raised in incorruption, but is sown a "natural body"—I say this belief cannot be affected in any conceivable manner or degree by the question, whether the "natural



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body" is burnt or buried in the earth or in the sea, or is carried off by vultures from a tower of silence, or eaten by wild beasts. The question is really not one of religious belief; it is purely a sanitary one. "This is a subject," as Bishop Fraser says, "which will have to be seriously considered before long. Cemeteries are becoming not only a difficulty, and an expense and an inconvenience, but an actual danger." And the "Church of England Burial, Funeral, and Mourning Reform Association," early this year, at a meeting held in the Charter House, the Master in the chair, passed the following resolution unanimously:—

"The time has arrived when a determined and united effort should be made on the part of ministers of religion, members of the medical profession, sanitarians, and persons of influence generally, to put a stop, as far as possible, to the prevalent, repulsive, and utterly indefensible practice of storing up, in the neighbourhood of great populations, vast accumulations of human remains in every stage of arrested and prolonged decay."

And at a number of ruri-decanal meetings and conferences in various parts of the country, the following was passed as an addition to the foregoing resolution:—

"That the present mode of burial in solid coffins in vaults, or in already crowded graves, is seriously and increasingly dangerous to the public health; and that the Home Secretary be memorialised to inquire into the condition of cemeteries, and the mode of burial adopted, with a view to legislation."

A memorial has been recently presented to the Home Secretary by a deputation, introduced by the Duke of Westminster, showing cause why a Government inquiry should be instituted into the condition of cemeteries and other burial places, with a view to further legislation. The advocates of cremation support the Association in nearly all their suggestions for proposed reforms, but they do not believe that mentorm of burial in the earth can be free from danger to the tions and therefore do not stop at burial reform, but go delivera. and advise a return to the ancient custom of cremation teaching, ial. They do not propose any compulsory system,

ath has been caused by infectious diseases. But



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they hope to see a voluntary preference for cremation gradually arising in public opinion, and they submit that if cremation is practised under proper regulations any objections to the custom may be answered.

I need add no more as to the religious objections. The only real objection is the medico-legal: namely, that if a poisoned or murdered body is burnt, all traces of the crime are destroyed, as no exhumation of the body is possible, where suspicion is not aroused until some time after death. The answer to this is that much more exact certificates as to death having been caused by well-known causes must be required than are required at present before burial. Two medical men, instead of one only, must sign the certificates; and in case of the slightest doubt a *post mortem* examination must be made. One case of accidental poisoning has been already discovered by the officials at the Milan Crematorium, which would have escaped notice had the child been buried. At present a considerable percentage of the dead are buried without any medical certificate, and a still larger proportion with very inaccurate or insufficient certificates. Under proper regulations it is almost impossible that murder or suicide could be concealed by cremation.

Before replying to the sentimental objections, let me say a few words as to the sanitary advantages of cremation over burial. In addition to checking all the evils of crowded burial-places, stopping the pollution of air and water, an immense gain may be hoped for by the destruction of the germs of contagious and infectious diseases. We never can stamp out these diseases if their germs are stored up in the earth. I have published a case where an epidemic of scarlet fever was distinctly traced to opening some graves where scarlet fever patients had been buried thirty years before. Eight years ago I read a paper at Cambridge and the British Medical Association, and I invite attention to the following remarks which I then made:—

"I must allude to one most remarkable argument in favo cremation which has just been advanced by Pasteur, after hi amination of the soil of fields where cattle had been buried, the death had been caused by that fatal disease known as 'charbords,

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splenic fever. The observations of our own Darwin 'on the formation of mould,' made more than forty years ago, when he was a young man, are curiously confirmatory of the recent conclusions of Pasteur. In his paper, read at the Geological Society of London in 1837, he proved that, in old pasture-land, every particle of the superficial layer of earth, overlying different kinds of subsoil, has passed through the intestines of earth-worms. The worms swallow earthy matter, and, after separating the digestible or serviceable portion, they eject the remainder in little coils or heaps at the mouth of their burrows. In dry weather the worm descends to a considerable depth, and brings up to the surface the particles which it ejects. This agency of earth-worms is not so trivial as it might seem. By observation in different fields, Mr. Darwin proved, in one case, that a depth of more than three inches of this worm-mould had been accumulated in fifteen years; and, in another, that the earth-worms had covered a bed of marl with their mould in eighty years, to an average depth of thirteen inches.

"Pasteur's recent researches on the etiology of 'charbon' show that this earth-mould positively contains the specific germs which propagate the disease; and that the same specific germs are found within the intestines of the worms. The parasitic organism, or *bacteridium*, which, inoculated from a diseased to a healthy animal, propagates the specific disease, may be destroyed by putrefaction after burial. But, before this process has been completed, germs or spores may have been formed which will resist the putrefactive process for many years, and lie in a condition of latent life, like a grain of corn, or any flower-seed, ready to germinate, and communicate the specific disease. In a field in the Jura, where a diseased cow had been buried two years before, at a depth of nearly seven feet, the surface-earth not having been disturbed in the interval, Pasteur found that the mould contained germs which, introduced by inoculation into a guinea-pig, produced charbon and death. And, further, if a worm b taken from an infected spot, the earth in the alimentary canal of i worm contains these spores or germs of charbon, which, inoculated, vir agate the disease. And the mould deposited on the surface by men orms, when dried into dust, is blown over the grass and plants tions ch the cattle feed, and may thus spread the disease. After deliver arming operations of tilling and harvest, Pasteur has found teaching, iust over the graves of the diseased cattle, but not to any

After rains, or morning dews, the germs of charbon, of other germs, were found about the neighbouring



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plants: and Pasteur suggests that, in cemeteries, it is very possible that germs capable of propagating specific diseases of different kinds, quite harmless to the earth-worm, may be carried to the surface of the soil ready to cause disease in the proper animals. The practical inferences in favour of cremation are so strong that, in Pasteur's words, they 'need not be enforced.'"

And now, with regard to public sentiment as preventing the progress of cremation, let me say that it is changing very rapidly from opposition to support. Ten years ago every one was shocked at the proposed innovation. It was opposed by two Home Secretaries, Sir R. Cross and Sir W. Harcourt, but Dr. Cameron carried seventy-nine members of the House of Commons with him in support of a Bill in its favour. Since the practice has been judicially declared not to be illegal, the Cremation Society has burned fifty-three bodies at Woking. We are now erecting a beautiful chapel there. The ashes of some of the bodies have been taken to their own parish churches, and buried, with scarcely any alteration in the funeral service. Others have been preserved in urns by the relatives. At New York more than a hundred bodies have been burned in the Crematorium there, at Buffalo between forty and fifty, and there are nine other Cremation Societies and buildings in the United States. In Italy and Germany, and in Sweden and Denmark, the practice is rapidly spreading, and it can scarcely be doubted that we are now entering upon a period of rapid progress here. And if you reflect, not only upon the sanitary, but the sentimental advantages of the ancient custom of urn burial, I trust that the clergy will be among the leaders of the movement in its advance. Here again I will quote from my Cambridge address:—

"As to the ceremony of burial and performance of any religious service, distinguished members of the clergy of the Church of England have shown that scarcely any alteration would be called for in ou burial-service; and it is felt that, as urn-burial might be practised any extent and for any length of time in or around churches public buildings, in towns as well as in distant cemeteries, an out the expensive transport and ugly expensive forms of oung the system of burial, men might again, as of old, rest in dene words, scene of their work in life; and the restoration of the

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the chapel or crypt would renew and add to the tie between the family and the church. Our places of worship and the spaces which surround them, if urn-burial became general, would be amply sufficient for the preservation of the remains of our dead for generations to come, and would enable us to convert existing cemeteries, which are rapidly becoming sources of danger to the public health, into permanently beautiful gardens."

A word as to the economy of cremation, as compared with burial. The mere furnace, with chimney, need not cost £100. A pretty chapel and waiting-rooms may be erected for two or three hundred more. Half an acre or an acre of land would suffice for the safe disposal of the ashes of the dead of a large population for a century to come. The mere cost of the fuel, whether wood, or coal and coke, does not exceed seven shillings. Compare this with the thousands of acres of valuable land now occupied by the dead, instead of being used to produce food for the living. Think, too, of the cost of each grave in any cemetery, and the charge for digging it, as compared with the cost of fuel. By cremation all expensive coffins become unnecessary; and the cost of an urn or monument of any kind, depends entirely upon the wishes of the family or friends.

The advocates of cremation go quite as far as the Church of England Burial Reform Association in advocating simplicity in funerals, and in reforming the practices in cemeteries which endanger the public health. But they go further, and urge upon the clergy the advantages of a return to the ancient custom of burial of the ashes of the dead, either in; or beneath, or immediately around places of worship. This may be done with absolute safety to the living, beautifying by surrounding cloisters or columbaria many a plain church, and making our cathedrals and abbeys unlimited receptacles for the dead of generations to come—each one a national mausoleum. If this is well thought over, I can scarcely doubt that both clergy and laity will, before very long, be of one mind in the deliviction that a purer public sentiment will spread against a teaching disposal of the dead which is necessarily followed ——tive corruption, and in favour of the purifying fire.

T. SPENCER WELLS.



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# PALESTINE LIFE.

## THE CLAPPING OF HANDS.

"LET the rivers clap their hands,
Let the mountains sing-triumphantly together."—PSALM xcviii. 8.

I HAD scarcely resided a night in Jerusalem before I heard a noise that afterwards became very familiar. It was the loud and regular repetition of a sound caused by concussion, repeated again and again, to a kind of tune always the same. Though it seemed to a Western ear very monotonous, from the rapid recurrence of a few bars for long periods at a time, it was really conducted in as bright and lively a manner as possible, sometimes increasingly fast. At intervals it was accompanied by music and singing, and lasted, with every sign of the greatest hilarity, late into the night.

Afterwards I ascertained that it was produced by the simultaneous clapping of hands, and proceeded either from the coffee-shops, in which it was carried on for the entertainment of the smokers, or from private houses, where it formed part of the rejoicings upon any festive occasion. The words which invariably accompany this clapping of hands are those of the Arabic verse:—

"Heh aman, Allah aman,
Heh aman, ou-rouddoo caman;"

which may be translated—

"O verily, God is faithful;
O verily, and repeat it again,"

or still more literally, and so as to preserve the sound and rhythm—

"O amen, God is Amen;
O amen, and repeat it again."

The leader starts by clapping his hands and singing the first line, and upon this the others respond with the words,



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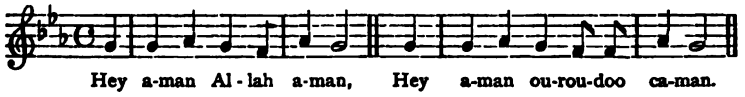
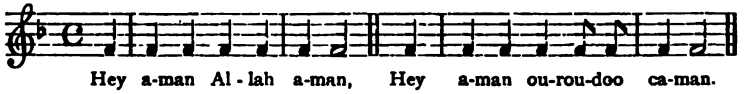
"O amen, and repeat it again." It appears a kind of national hymn throughout the East, and may be heard equally at the festivities, accompanying a Latin or Greek baptism, a Jewish circumcision, or a Muslim wedding. The following is the musical score of this very simple tune, showing the way in which it is sung by men and women respectively:—

WOMEN.




MEN.




For years, hardly a night passed but this sound rung out loud and clear in the still midnight air of the Judæan hills.

I frequently met with it too in the daytime. In processions, such as those which accompany a Muslim adult circumcision, or the public parade of some order of dervishes with banners and music, both dancing and clapping of hands, to excite the dancers, form an important part. So also in the wedding processions of various sects in Palestine, the loud beating of time in this way attends the *phantasia*, or spectacle, in which a Syrian so much delights.[1] At such times, while watching the man who dances before the bride, as he moves backwards with exaggerated steps, and brandishes a drawn sword, I have been able to realise vividly the wonderful and affecting scene, when King David, with an earnestness and holy joy that threw to the winds the decorum of kingly life, thus danced before the ark, after a fashion certainly most

[1] This word *phantasia* (pronounced *phant'azee'a*), so frequently on the lips of the present *fellahheen* (peasant) inhabitants of Palestine, is the very Greek word φαντασία (*phantasia*), used of the procession or show with which King Agrippa and Bernice came to hear Paul, and translated "pomp" in our English version (Acts xxv. 23). It is deeply interesting to find a Greek word now in common use amongst the ignorant Arabic-speaking *fellahheen* throughout the Holy Land, which would appear to have been incorporated into the colloquial language of the country more than 1800 years ago.

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undignified, and which very naturally drew forth the reproaches of his proud, worldly-minded wife.

Once I was witness to a remarkable instance of this clapping the hands by way of rejoicing. A number of young conscripts, fresh from the country, belonging to a regiment quartered in Jerusalem, whose barracks were under my study window, one afternoon, in an exuberant burst of spirits, formed a ring in the street like so many children, and fell to clapping their hands in unison, while they sang and moved their feet in a kind of measured step. I subsequently learnt that this is one of the usual country dances, called *sahhdjeh.* Like almost all the dances of the East, it is only practised by men and women separately, and, indeed, is chiefly confined to men, is rather a solemn and grotesque than a light affair, and consists in movements of the body rather than of the feet, which latter are only lifted as if in slow stamping.

In a word, all seasons of great mirth or rejoicing throughout the Holy Land are marked by such clapping of the hands, and both performers and audience never seem to weary of this simple but universal amusement. When it stops, the audience call loudly for its continuance, with the cry, "*kaph, kaph,*" that is, "palm, palm," meaning "go on striking the palm of your hand."

There can be little doubt that what is known amongst us as "Kentish fire" is a plain survival of this most ancient and interesting Eastern custom. The "fire" in question consists of clapping the hands in rhythm, after the lead of a fugleman, and takes place now at political meetings. When thus delivered by a large and enthusiastic audience, the performance of it is very striking. The practice appears to be derived from Orange Lodges, and is one of those exceedingly ancient Eastern customs which are so characteristic of the Irish people, and so distinctly mark their Oriental origin. As far as I have been able to trace the name "Kentish," given to this so-called "fire," it seems to be comparatively modern, and to have been first applied to it in 1829. It was then, according to some writers, heard for the first time in England, and formed the chief feature of the continuous cheering,

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common at the great Protestant and Conservative meetings held in Kent to oppose the passing of the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act. At these meetings speakers were, in all probability, brought from the north of Ireland, who were members of the Orange Lodges, and familiar with their customs, and thus specially introduced this one of clapping the hands in rhythm, which has ever since been called in this country, after the name of the county where it was first heard, "Kentish fire." But as Kent is a Saxon part of England, where many exceedingly primitive customs have lingered, it is just possible that this mode of applause has been peculiar to that part from ancient times.

Dr. Van-Lennep, in his very valuable work on Bible lands, has a brief passing allusion to the custom, though he does not trace the references to it in the Bible. He proves, however, by an Egyptian sculpture, that it was usual in ancient times amongst that people as an accompaniment of dancing.[1] To this may be added, that the same practice, at the time of singing, is shown by a picture from "a tomb of unknown but very remote antiquity, at Elethya, in Upper Egypt. They beat the measure as they sing by clapping their hands. This is the case with all other representations of singers on the Egyptian tombs. It is mentioned by Herodotus (*Eut.*, c. lx.) as a peculiarity of their singing. This custom would seem to have passed over to the Hebrews. Probably it was in the choral hymn of praise, in which all the people joined, that the custom of beating the measure by clapping the hands was practised."[2] So writes the author of *Egypt: her Testimony to the Truth*, but I have observed the practice of clapping the hands as an accompaniment of instrumental music shown in several other Egyptian sculptures.

Doubtless it is to this that allusion is made by the Psalmist:

> "Clap your hands, all ye peoples!
> Shout unto God with the voice of triumphant-singing."
> (רִנָּה, *Rinnah*).[3]

[1] *Bible Lands: their Modern Customs and Manners illustrative of Scripture.* By H. J. Van-Lennep, D.D. London: John Murray, 1875, p. 623.

[2] *Egypt: her Testimony to the Truth*, p. 238.

[3] Psalm xlvii. 1. "The voice of triumphant-singing" may well refer to the

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In the preceding Psalm (xlv.) Messiah is foretold, under the character of the Kingly Bridegroom in the day of His espousals. This discovery of the power and love of Christ calls for immediate confidence and trust, the subject of the following Psalm; and in the next place for the liveliest rejoicing, of which Psalm xlvii. is full. To this gladness the people are exhorted under the figure, so familiar to all, of clapping the hands. It is still, as I have said, universal on the occasion of a marriage; and it would appear to have been equally the ancient accompaniment of a coronation. When Jehoiada placed the crown on the head of Jehoash, "and they made him king, and anointed him;" then "they clapped their hands and said: 'Long live the king!'"[1]

It was, therefore, especially appropriate that the manifestation of Israel's Eternal Lord, the Great King and Heavenly Bridegroom, and His solemn union with the Church at the "Bridal of the Lamb," should both be celebrated in the same way. What wonder that the people should be so exhorted to rejoice, when, on the announcement of salvation, even inanimate nature is represented, by a sublime personification, as breaking forth into like jubilant action!

"The Lord has made known His salvation,
His righteousness He has openly showed in the sight of
the heathen-nations.

. . . . .

Let the rivers clap their hands,
Let the mountains sing-triumphantly together,
Before Jehovah."[2]

And again—

"Let the violently-wicked forsake his way,

very words of the choral song, that, as I have said, always accompanies this clapping of hands: "O verily, God is faithful;" literally, "O amen! God is Amen!" The whole Bible bears abundant witness in every page to the faithfulness of God. If these words were the ancient, as they may certainly be said to be the modern, national anthem of Bible lands, it is very significant that Christ Jesus the Lord should call Himself "The Amen," in addressing Laodicea in that prophetic letter which sets forth in "a mystery" the seventh last stage of the Church in which He will come again in glory to set up His reign on earth.—Rev. iii. 14.

[1] 2 Kings xi. 12. [2] Psalm xcviii. 2, 8.

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And the depraved man his thoughts,
And let him return unto Jehovah,
And He will have mercy upon him;
And to our God,
For He will abundantly pardon.

. . . . .

For you shall go out with joy,
And be led forth with peace:
The mountains and the hills shall break forth before
you into triumphant-singing,
And all the trees of the field shall clap their hands!"[1]

In this bold and truly Oriental imagery, the mountains and hills are represented as singers at the glad millennial festival; while the sound of the rushing rivers, and the waving boughs of the forests around their feet, is compared to the clapping of hands. "For we know that the whole creation groans and travails in pain together until now," under the curse of man's sin, and the coming of Christ will be the day of its deliverance.[2] The Lord hasten it in its time!

It seems that it was in this way that the people of Ammon malignantly rejoiced over the downfall of the land of Israel, and in so doing brought upon themselves the sentence of national extinction.

"Thus said the Lord Jehovah:
Because thou hast clapped hands and stretched forth with the
foot,
And rejoiced in soul with all thy spiteful-contempt
Against the land of Israel;
Therefore, behold, I have stretched out My hand upon thee,

. . . . . .

And I will cut thee off from the peoples,
And I will cause thee to perish out of the countries."[3]

This seems like a vivid description of the country dance called *Sahhdjeh*, which I have already described. This dance is mainly a slow "stretching forth" or stately stamping of the

[1] Isaiah lv. 7, 12. [2] Rom. viii. 22.
[3] Ezekiel xxv. 6, 7. See also a similar allusion in Ezekiel vi. 11, "Clap with thy hand and stretch forth with thy foot."

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feet, whilst the hands are clapped, and is engaged in specially *as a sign of triumph and rejoicing.*

But it should be observed that the hands are often clapped in the presence of another, purposely to indicate scorn and contempt, in a somewhat different fashion. This practice may be witnessed more especially amongst the Sephardeem, the Eastern, Spanish-speaking Jews. The action in such case is the striking the tip of the fingers of the right hand on the hinder part of the left, whilst the scorner, at the same time, gives utterance to some sarcastic or vengeful sentiment. Job may be referring to this when he says—

> "Men clap their hands at him,
> And hiss him out of his place."[1]

It was probably the charge of scorning that Elihu brought against the much-tried patriarch, when he said—

> "He claps [his hands] amongst us,
> And multiplies his words against God."[2]

The Most High Himself is represented as thus exhibiting a holy indignation and righteous scorn against Jerusalem, "the bloody city," for its abominable wickedness. After a fearful catalogue of its crimes, He declares, "Behold, therefore, I have *smitten My hand* at thy dishonest gain which thou hast made, and at thy blood which hath been in the midst of thee. . . . And I will scatter thee among the heathen-nations, and disperse thee in the countries, and I will consume thy filthiness out of thee."[3]

There is another form of clapping the hands, which must be carefully distinguished from the mirthful practice I have described as accompanying music, singing, and dancing, namely, the smiting of the hands together for grief or anger. When the "mourning women," and "such as are skilful of lamentation," assemble round a corpse,[4] amongst other signs of great sorrow, which it is their business to simulate, may constantly be seen the smiting together of the hands. This action is distinctly different from that of clapping the hands for joy.

[1] Job xxvii. 23. [2] Job xxxiv. 37. [3] Ezek. xxii. 13, 15.
[4] Jer. ix. 17; Amos v. 16; Micah ii. 4; Acts viii. 2.



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In grief or passion they do not strike palm upon palm, but the back of one hand is struck upon the palm of the other alternately. It answers very much to our wringing the hands, which it closely resembles. Both men and women may also be seen to strike their hands together violently in this way when any accident or sudden misfortune overtakes them, or when they are in any paroxysm of anger, terror, or grief. At such time, too, they beat with their hands upon their breasts, as in the case of the conscience-stricken tax-collector in the parable, and of the terrified multitude returning from the supernatural darkness of the crucifixion; and also upon their thigh, as alluded to by Jeremiah and Ezekiel.[1]

This smiting the hands for grief or rage seems in Hebrew to be distinguished from the clapping for joy by the use of the plural "hands," in each passage in which the former is signified. An instance occurs in that graphic scene where Moab's king gives vent to his bitter disappointment and fury at being compelled to listen to a thrice-pronounced blessing on the Israel of God. "And Balak's anger was kindled against Balaam, and he smote his hands together," that is, "he wrung his hands in uncontrollable wrath and dismay."[2] The violence and malignancy of Zion's foes are set forth under this figure—

"All that pass by clap their hands at thee,
They hiss and wag their head at the daughter of Jerusalem,
[Saying], 'Is this the city that they call the perfection of beauty,
The joy of the whole earth?'
All thine enemies open their mouth against thee:
They hiss and gnash the teeth."[3]

Paxton, following Burder, however, explains all this otherwise. In such passages as I have shown to refer to the customary clapping of the hands for joy, he sees only an allusion to the practice of Oriental females paying respect to persons of high rank, by striking their fingers rapidly upon their cheek and lips, and at the same time making a shrill cry by quick

[1] Jer. xxxi. 19; Ezek. xxi. 12; Luke xviii. 13, xxiii. 48.
[2] Num. xxiv. 10, 11. [3] Lam. ii. 15, 16.

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vibrations of the tongue. This is called *tahleel*, *woolwal*, or *olooleh*, and is constantly set up by Eastern women on all occasions of excitement. By men, however, it is only used as an Arab war-cry. I have fully described this remarkable yell in another place.[1] Both these authors justly remark, that in several passages clapping the "hand" in the singular is mentioned, which is the case in all the instances alluded to above as illustrations of clapping for gladness.

But they do not seem to have been aware of the fact that, in the clapping of hands for joy, such as I have described, the palm of the left hand remains comparatively motionless whilst it is struck by the palm of the right, so that it is literally a clapping of the "hand," that is, the left hand. In further confirmation of this, let the reader observe that, as I have already had occasion to remark, the onlookers to this day always call out, "*kaph, kaph!*" "palm, palm!" in the singular; that is, "go on striking the palm" (not "the palms"), when encouraging the mirthful clapping of hands. As distinguished from this, the clapping or smiting of the hands in mourning or anger is emphatically a clapping of "hands"—always in the plural; for, as I have shown in the latter case, first one hand is struck, and then the other. We may indeed point to this as an excellent example of the fine accuracy of language in the Hebrew Scriptures.

Both Paxton and Burder admit that clapping of hands, when in the plural, was also used to express joy, but generally to denote a "malignant satisfaction, a triumphant or insulting joy," and quote in proof of this assertion a passage where hands are in the dual, that is, "two hands."[2] But if we apply this test to one of the plainest instances of the kind in all Scripture, that already quoted, where Ammon is represented as rejoicing over Israel's downfall, it fails; for "hand" is here in the singular.[3] Besides—and this really settles the matter—the cry of *tahleel*, *woolwal*, or *olooleh* is, save in the case of the war-cry of Bedouin Arabs, practised by *women only;*

[1] *Salute One Another; or, The "Kiss" of the Bible*, pp. 76, 77. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1885.

[2] Lam. ii. 15. [3] Ezek. xxv. 6.

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whereas men are evidently called upon in Ps. xlvii. to join in the act of rejoicing. Moreover, the clapping of the hands in this and the other similar passages is not spoken of as a tribute of respect, or warm regard, or mere excitement, either grave or gay, as in the case of the *tahleel*, but rather as a sign and accompaniment of exuberant joy.

While considering this subject, it may not be out of place to observe, that when two Easterns desire solemnly to enter into covenant, or confirm a promise of help or friendship, they strike each other's hand. Thus, a man will say to another, "You will see the Pasha on my behalf, will you not?" and then stretch out his hand to the person so appealed to, that he may touch it in token that he will assuredly keep his word. A promise or undertaking thus made is binding under any circumstances. It would seem that this custom prevails throughout India. A Hindoo Mussulman gentleman, writing to the *Daily Telegraph* some time ago about the case of a poor fellow-countryman who had come to England to present a petition to "the Empress of India," said that his compatriot addressed to him the request, "'You will write to the *Rani* (the Indian name for the Queen); write to the Rani, pray?' he repeated, and stretched out his hand that I might touch it—an Eastern form which renders a promise binding under any circumstances." Bargains throughout the East are specially ratified in this way, and covenants of all kinds between man and man.

It is therefore most interesting to observe Scriptural allusions to becoming a surety to another in just this way. Speaking of the folly of rashly accepting suretyship, the wise man says—

> "My son, if thou hast become surety for thy friend,
> Hast stricken thy hand with a stranger,
> Hast been ensnared by the words of thy mouth,
> Hast been caught by the words of thy mouth,
> Do this now, my son, and deliver thyself."[1]

Job, boldly appealing to God from the accusations of his friends, says to the Most High—

[1] Prov. vi. 1. See also Prov. xxii. 6.

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"Appoint now, be surety for me with Thyself.
Who is he that will strike at my hand?"[1]

That is, "who else but God can be my Surety, or engage to help me?"

An instance of this is given in the history of Jehu, who, on meeting Jehonadab, the son of Rechab, saluted him and said, "Is it right with thy heart, as my heart is with thy heart?" —and on an affirmative reply demanded the usual sign of covenant, "Give thy hand, and he gave his hand."[2]

There is yet another striking of the hands together that calls for mention. The usual mode of summoning a servant or attendant throughout the East is by loudly clapping the hands. Whilst residing in Jerusalem, in common with all masters there, I struck my hands smartly together, in place of ringing a bell, or calling to a servant by name, and the signal was immediately understood and answered. This practice throughout the East is constant and universal, and that it has come down from very ancient times may be certainly gathered by readers of such works as the *Arabian Nights*. It seems to be referred to in that passage of Ezekiel, where God's judgment upon Jerusalem, in the Chaldean invasion, is represented by the coming of a sharp, glittering sword. The prophet is told, "Clap [your] hands [literally, smite hand to hand], and let a sword be doubled the third time." That is, "smite thy hands together, in order to summon a great sword as my chastisement of Israel, three times."[3] This would seem plainly to signify a threefold calamity in the shape of war, which the Babylonians, as the servants of God for this purpose, are thus called to execute. David, addressing God, speaks of the wicked as His "sword,"[4] for He can as readily raise them up for the punishment of His unfaithful people, as a man can summon his servant by clapping his hands!

JAMES NEIL.

[1] Job xvii. 3. [2] 2 Kings x. xv. See also allusions to this practice in Exodus xxiii. 1; Lev. vi. 2; Ezra x. 19; Lam. v. 6; Ezek. xvii. 18. [3] Ezekiel xxi. 14. "A sword doubled" stands for "a sword ample or great." See this sense of double in 1 Tim. v. 17; 2 Kings ii. 9; Job xi. 6, etc. [4] Psalm xvii. 13.

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# CURRENT LITERATURE.

An irresistibly charming book is before us (1). We do not know how to put it down. It is one of those rare works in which we can pursue recreative study. It is equally fit for a place of honour in the library, or in the drawing-room. The title so neatly describes the nature of this compilation that no special description of its contents need be given. On the whole, the classification has been skilfully made, though occasionally we spot some misplacements. For instance, the Italian proverb, "Whoever brings finds the door open for him," stands alone under the heading "bringing." Its proper place would be under "giving," where there are 105 proverbs, and would naturally stand beside "He who can give has many a good neighbour." Again, a large section like "giving," of which there are several such, might with advantage have been split up into a number of convenient sized groups, each bearing an appropriate and suggestive heading. We know that this would have taxed the skill and judgment of the writer to the utmost, as well as testing his patience and perseverance; but this additional service would have rendered the book ten times more valuable. It would have been really remunerative labour. There is again another department upon which in future editions more time and thought might be bestowed. Much more ought to have been attempted in the way of tersely explaining those proverbs which, through being torn away from their context, or from the want of some special knowledge, are as hard for ordinary persons to solve as if they were conundrums. But perhaps our chief complaint is occasioned by serious omissions.

The warmest thanks, however, of the English public are due to the American compiler for furnishing a book of ready reference to the proverbs of all ages and nations, and one which enables the reader to see different thoughts of different men upon the same subject, oftentimes supplementing or modifying each other, in many cases harmoniously blending together, and always enlarging the mental horizon of the thoughtful reader.

(1) *Proverbs, Maxims and Phrases of all ages, classified subjectively and arranged alphabetically.* In two volumes, compiled by Robert Christy. T. Fisher Unwin, 1888. Price 21s.



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HERE are some of the best thoughts of some of the best poets on the best of books. On the silver thread of Holy Scripture Mr. Horder has strung a succession of poetical pearls which form altogether a necklace

"To adorn the Wife
Of the Eternal glorious King."

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Immense pains must have been taken by the editor in the compilation of the present series, and he is to be congratulated on the success of his labours. He has done good service to the Church in thus bringing together these jewels from a hundred mines. The student of Scripture and the student of poetry are alike indebted to him. Probably no reader, however wide his acquaintance with English literature, will fail to find here some gems of poetry which are new to him—some pleasant surprises of sacred song.

The arrangement of the work is very good, following as it does the regular evolution of Bible history. There are excellent indices of contents. The volume is got up in first-rate style, and would make a beautiful gift book. We heartily recommend this new series of *The Poets' Bible* to our readers, and have no doubt it will meet with such a welcome from the public as it richly deserves.

(2) *The Poets' Bible.* Old Testament Series. Selected and edited by W. Garrett Horder. London: W. Isbister, 56 Ludgate Hill. Price 7s. 6d.

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*Figurative Language of the Bible* (3), a striking work by the Rev. James Neil, on one of the most generally neglected, least known, and most important branches of Bible study. It will be welcomed by those who were so much interested in listening to his lectures given before great crowds last winter in Exeter Hall, and at the first of which the Lord High Chancellor presided, and pronounced it "very interesting" and "most important." In the Bible there are hundreds of figures of speech which, through not being recognised as such, but, taken literally, on the one hand raise doubts as to its perfect accuracy, and on the other seem to favour superstition. If the Bible did not abound in figures, it would lack one of the most valuable evidences of its Eastern origin. Mr. Neil has pointed this out on page 2: "The Bible," he says, "on its human side, and as to the whole letter of it, is an Eastern book. It was written in the East, about events which happened in the East, by Eastern penmen, and for Eastern readers," therefore, both in "thought and language, it must speak as men speak in the East." Now Easterns can scarcely speak without using highly-figurative language. Much in this work is set in the fresh light of Mr. Neil's discoveries in Palestine. The following figures are fully explained and illustrated in a manner which makes some obscure passages really radiant—their obscurity completely vanishing in the light of this neglected science—*Simile* or Comparison, *Metaphor* or Transfer, *Hypocatastasis* or Implication, *Metonymy* or Change of Name, *Hendiadys* or One by means of two, *Ellipsis* or Omission, *Enallagé* or Exchange. Under one or other of these Mr. Neil sets forth the evident meaning of texts long misapplied and made to contradict some other portion of Scripture, or which have been explained away to mean nothing at all. A very beautiful *Simile* is dealt with in Ps. cxxxi. 1, 2. A powerful Hypocatastasis tells how "puppies" (κυνάρια), "under the table, eat of the children's crumbs" (Mark vii. 28), which full-grown dogs may never do. *Hendiadys* is shown to correct errors, touching the nature of the New Birth and the nature of Worship; and the calm, clear light of tropical language, which Mr. Neil turns on these subjects, and upon the nature and need of Communion, and the nature of Absolution, is of the utmost value to the Protestant cause.

(3) *Figurative Language of the Bible.* By James Neil, M.A. Messrs. Woodford, Fawcett & Co., Dorset Works, Salisbury Square, London. 1888. Price 1s.

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Theological Monthly

# THE PHARAOH AND DATE OF THE EXODUS:

## *A STUDY IN COMPARATIVE CHRONOLOGY.*

1. SINCE the time of Josephus Flavius there has been no lack of works on Biblical and profane chronology, and their number is rapidly increasing in our day. If the ambitious student, who has the courage to wade through a formidable array of several thousand volumes, desires to ascertain the results attained by the combined chronological wisdom of the past 1800 years, he is at once met by a pleasing variety of choice. The date of the creation, for instance, has been placed as high as 6174 B.C., and as low as 3616 B.C. If he select so comparatively a modern date as the exodus from Egypt, he may take his choice between several hundred dates, ranging all the way from 1825 B.C. (Seyffarth) to 1143 B.C. (Floigl). In Egyptian chronology the choice of dates is equally varied, and equally dissatisfactory. Menes, the first king of Egypt, reigns, according to Henne von Sargons, 6467 B.C.; while Palmer is sure there is here an error of calculation of 4243 years, since he places the same Menes in 2224 B.C. There is scarcely a single date in profane history that is agreed upon by all chronologists until we come to the death of Alexander the Great in 324 B.C.; and even this date has been disputed by Seyffarth.

2. It would be a thankless task to analyse and criticise a tithe of the chronological systems that have had their day,



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and it would be a hopeless labour, compared with which that of Sisyphus was child's play, to attempt to deduce from these discordant systems a consistent and harmonious scheme of comparative chronology. Happily, at least nine-tenths of the chronological theories heretofore devised may be dismissed as more or less ingenious systems of guesswork. Since the discovery of the key to the reading of hieroglyphic and cuneiform inscriptions, we are in possession of a mass of contemporaneous documents which, in many cases, enable us to check a chronological system at every step. The amount of material of this kind at our disposal is now so large, that it is time that the whole subject of comparative chronology should be reconsidered *de novo* in the light of monumental evidence. The following essay is an attempt in that direction, in which we hope to show that, by means of the monumental helps at our disposal, together with the written evidence, it is possible to determine not only the year, *but the exact day* on which the exodus of the Hebrews from Egypt took place. If our attempt should be considered successful—and of this the reader must himself be the judge—it will furnish to future chronologists a fixed and absolute starting-point for their researches; to biblical scholars a new proof of the truth of the Bible; and to Egyptologists a new study of the Egyptian calendar.

3. Most Egyptologists of the present day, following the lead of Bunsen and Lepsius, seem to be agreed that the Hebrew exodus from Egypt must be placed about 1314 B.C., in the reign of Menptah, the son of Ramessu the Great. In fact, Brugsch[1] is so sure that this date is correct, that he uses the following emphatic language, italics included: "The new pharaoh 'who knew not Joseph' . . . . is no other, *can be no other*, than Ramessu II." As Brugsch gives no additional proof for this dogmatic assertion, beyond what may be found in Lepsius,[2] we venture to assert with equal emphasis that, inasmuch as Manetho, the monuments and astronomy, are all in accord in placing Ramessu the Great nearly two hundred

[1] *Hist. of Egypt*, i. 98, 99.

[2] *Chronol. der Ægypter*, translated in pp. 357-506 of his *Letters from Egypt*, etc. (Bohn's edition).

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years after the exodus, *he cannot* be the pharaoh of the oppression, nor, consequently, can his son Menptah be the pharaoh of the exodus. Lepsius' argument rests mainly on three proofs: (1) That Manetho's story of the leper exodus is the Egyptian version of the Hebrew exodus; (2) that Menptah is the pharaoh of the leper exodus; (3) that Menptah is the same king as the Menophres of the astronomer Theon, and therefore began his reign in 1322 B.C. If these three points can be disproved, it will follow that Menptah is not the pharaoh of the Hebrew exodus, and that we must look for some other candidate. Lepsius advances various minor arguments in support of his theory, but they all depend on these three main arguments, and must stand or fall with them.

4. Now in the first place it must be conceded that Manetho, as an Egyptian priest, professedly translating from the sacred books and other records into the Greek language, must have been well versed in his own language, and consequently that he must have known that Amenhotep (=Amenophis) and Minptah (=Menophath) were two distinct names, differing both in form and meaning. In the story of the leper exodus, both in Manetho's as well as in Chæremon's version, the king is *always* called Amenophis, never Menophath. As Manetho says the king's name was Amenophis, there is no ground whatever for assuming that he meant a king of another name, and we are therefore directed to the 18th dynasty, in which there were three kings named Amenophis, or four, if we count in the heretic usurper Atenchura (the Atencheres of Manetho), who at first reigned under the name Amenhotep IV. If any doubt remained it would be at once dispelled by a fact mentioned by Manetho, which is confirmed by the monuments, which shows that Amenhotep III. and no other king is the pharaoh of his leper exodus story. Manetho says that the chief adviser of his Amenophis was *his namesake* Amenophis, *the son of Papis*.[1] Now, the monuments show that the principal personage in the reign of Amenhotep III. was, in fact, Amenhotep, surnamed Si Hapi, that is, *son of Hapi*, or Apis.

[1] Josephus, *Contra Apion*, i. 26.

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5. That Minptah is not the same king as Menophres is clear: (1) from the difference of names, for Menophres is as purely Egyptian as Minptah, and there is no necessity whatever for emending it to Menephthes, with Lepsius; (2) because Minptah, as will be shown in a later section (§§11*b*, 19), reigned after the building of Tyre, hence not before 1198 B.C., and therefore he could not have been the same as king Menophres who reigned 124 years earlier, in 1322 B.C.; and (3) because the monuments offer us, in the throne name of one of the kings of dynasty 19, the exact equivalent of Menophres, and both Manetho and astronomical evidence prove that the king in question reigned in the year recorded by Theon.

6. The only remaining point to consider is, whether we are to identify the Amenophis of the leper exodus with the pharaoh of the Bible exodus, with Lieblein.[1] A brief analysis of Manetho's story is sufficient to show that this identification is impossible, and that the leper exodus refers to an entirely different event. Manetho says that a number of *Egyptian* lepers had been gathered from all parts of Egypt, and were sent to work in the quarries by Amenophis; that they were incited to revolt by an *Egyptian* priest named Osarsiph, who, with the aid of the shepherds who had been driven out of Egypt by Tothmosis *to the city called Jerusalem*, succeeded in usurping the throne for thirteen years, during which time Amenophis was living in Ethiopia, whither he had fled at the outbreak of the revolt; that Osarsiph and some other confederate *Egyptian* priests introduced a change of religion; that Amenophis took his [grand] son Sethos, *the son of Ramesses*, who was five years old at the time of the revolt, to Ethiopia; and that, at the end of the thirteen years, "the shepherds from Jerusalem and the polluted people were driven out of Egypt to the bounds of Syria"[2] by Sethos. In another extract[3] Sethos and Ramesses are joined together as reigning at the same time after Amenophis. According to this story, the succession of kings was as follows:—Amenophis III., Osarsiph, Ramesses I., Sethos I. The monumental lists give us: Amen-

[1] *Ægypt. Chronol.*, 117-125. [2] Josephus, *Contra Apion*, i. 26.
[3] *Ibid.*, i. 15.

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hotep III., Har [Horus], Ramessu I., Seti I. From this it is evident that Osarsiph is the same king as Horus. It is perfectly clear from his own account[1] that Horus was an usurper, and there are some indications that he was originally a priest. We also know, from the monuments, that after the death of Amenophis III., a change of religion was introduced as Manetho states, namely, the worship of the sun's disk, and a fanatic intolerance of Amunra and other state gods of Egypt.[2] There is not a word in Manetho's narrative that justifies us in connecting his story of the revolt of native *Egyptians* with the Hebrew exodus. If the Jews appear in his story at all, they can be only the shepherds who were called in from Jerusalem to assist the rebellious *Egyptians* to place Osarsiph on the throne. The statement attributed to Manetho that Osarsiph changed his name to Moses, is probably an impudent interpolation of Apion, from whom Josephus, no doubt, copied this and other extracts. That Manetho, with the Hebrews' own version of their expulsion before him in the LXX., and with his knowledge of the monumental lists of kings, should have represented Moses as usurping the throne of Egypt for thirteen years is too preposterous for belief. Apion's attack on the Jews was stuffed full of the most ridiculous, malignant, and impossible slanders, as Josephus' extracts therefrom prove, and it is more than likely that this conceited and venomous Alexandrian boldly added the name Moses to Manetho's narrative, without troubling himself as to consistency with Egyptian history.

7. If Manetho's story of the leper exodus describes a purely Egyptian event, the question arises whether he referred at all in his history to the Biblical exodus. Manetho seems to have been a faithful and honest historian, and his story of the conquest of Egypt by the Hyksos, "without striking a blow,"[3] shows that he did not hesitate to sacrifice his vanity as an Egyptian to the truth of history. As the LXX. version of the Hebrew Scriptures had probably been in circulation in Egypt before

[1] Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, i. 464-469.
[2] Sayce, *Ancient Emp. of the East*, 40, 41.
[3] Josephus, *Contra Apion*, i. 14.

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he published his *Ægyptiaca*, there was even less probability that Manetho would have ventured to pass in silence an event of such importance as the Hebrew exodus—whose disastrous effects must have long lingered in the memory of the Egyptians—since many of his Greek readers must have read the Hebrew version of the expulsion from Egypt, and they would naturally look to Manetho's history for the Egyptian side of the story. It is, therefore, pretty certain that Manetho did incorporate in his history the Egyptian version of the exodus from Egypt of the Hebrews, with a suitable local colouring, as might be expected. Fortunately, considerable fragments of this very story have been preserved in Josephus, although sadly mixed up with Manetho's history of the Hyksos invasion. In the story of the leper exodus there is an allusion to the *shepherds* who had been driven out of Egypt by Tothmosis *to the city of Jerusalem*, and if we turn to Josephus[1] we find a more detailed account of this expulsion. It is there stated, that "under a king, whose name was Alisphragmuthothis [Alisphra Tothmosis], the shepherds were subdued by him, and were shut up in a place named Avaris [=Tanis=Zoan]. Thummosis [Tothmosis] the *son* of Alisphragmuthothis came to an agreement with them that they should leave Egypt and go without any harm to be done to them, whithersoever they would; and that, after this agreement was made, *they went away with their whole families and effects; not fewer in number than* 240,000, *and took their journey from Egypt through the wilderness for Syria;* that they built a city in that country which is now called *Judea*, large enough to contain this great number of men, and called it *Jerusalem*." In another book Manetho says, "that this nation, thus called shepherds, were also called captives *in their sacred books*" [that is, in the LXX. Greek version, published before Manetho's work was written]. Again Josephus[2] quotes Manetho as saying that the Jews "went out of [Egypt], and settled in that country, which is now called Judea, and there built Jerusalem *and its temple*." These allusions to Judea, the wilderness, Jerusalem, the

[1] *Contra Apion*, i. 4.

[2] *Ibid.*, i. 26.

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temple, the sacred books, and the *peaceable* departure from Egypt, can leave no doubt as to the identity of these "captive shepherds" with the Hebrew shepherds who were captives in Egypt. Manetho's version sticks as closely to facts as might reasonably be expected from a national historian of Egypt, anxious on the one hand to give a faithful account of the story of his country, and on the other hand desirous of putting as good a construction as possible on an event which placed one of the most famous of all pharaohs in a very unenviable light. That these captive shepherds are not the same as the Hyksos shepherds with whom Josephus, honestly perhaps, sought to identify them is evident: (1) because we now know from the monuments that the latter were *forcibly* expelled, whereas the captive shepherds were allowed to depart *peaceably*, as Manetho himself testifies; (2) because we also know from the monuments that the Hyksos were expelled by *Amosis*, the first king of dynasty 18, whereas the king who allowed the captive shepherds to depart was named *Tothmosis*. These two names are as distinct as Amenhotep and Minptah. There were four kings named Tothmosis in dynasty 18, but Manetho's Tothmosis was the son of a king of the *same name*, with the additional name of *Alisphra*. Tothmosis I., II., and III. reigned in succession, consequently Manetho's pharaoh of the exodus was either Tothmosis II. or III. As we see in the case of Souphis of dynasty 4 (the Cheops of Herodotus, and the *Chufu* of the monuments), Manetho read "Sh" in place of "Ch" or "Kh." Hence, Aa-kheper-ka-ra and Aa-kheper-en-ra, the throne names of Tothmosis I. and II., would have been rendered by him as Aasepercheres and Aasephra. By substituting an A for an Δ in *Alisphra*, we restore the throne name of Tothmosis II.; that is, Aaisphra [=Aasiphra]. *Consequently Tothmosis* III. *was Manetho's pharaoh of the exodus.*

8. According to the monuments, Tothmosis reigned some time with his sister, Amenasu-hat (the Amenses of Manetho). Mesphres follows Amenses in Manetho with 12 years 9 months. Mesphris, or Misaphris (as it is also read), is evidently Mi(n)sheperra, the throne name of Tothmosis III. But the successor of Misaphris is Misphra Tothmosis with 25

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years 10 months. This is clearly the same king, with the addition of Tothmosis. Why was his reign divided into two parts? If he was the pharaoh of the exodus, a simple and natural explanation is, that his 25 years 10 months represent his reign *after the expulsion of the captive shepherds.* Josephus, who perhaps honestly, perhaps purposely, confounded the captive shepherds with the Hyksos, in order that his nation should appear to be more ancient than the Greeks, by placing the exodus from Egypt as high as possible, has actually identified Amosis and Tothmosis. The confusion was more easily made if, as we think probable, each king reigned 25 years after expelling the shepherds. But all doubt on the subject is removed by Manetho's own words:[1] "When this people or shepherds were gone out of Egypt to Jerusalem, *Tothmosis*, the king of Egypt who drove them out, reigned afterwards 25 years and 4 months." If Tothmosis III. reigned 25 years 4 months after the exodus, as Manetho expressly testifies, then the 25 years 10 months now given to his double in Josephus' list of dynasty 18 must belong to Amosis, whose place is now filled by Tothmosis. If Amosis reigned 25 years 10 months after the expulsion of the Hyksos, and four years before, as the monuments assure us, then his whole reign was 29 years 10 months. This agrees with a variant of 30 years in Syncellus. The 25 years 4 months now assigned to the first king would allow only 29 years and 4 months, or, in round numbers, 29 years for his total reign, for the rule of Manetho's epitomators was to call everything over six months a year, and to take no account of a less sum.

9. If Tothmosis III. was the pharaoh of the exodus, the next point to consider is when he reigned, according to Manetho. Josephus, whose list is the earliest, and therefore probably the most correct version, gives 334 years to dynasty 18, for he counts 393 years from the expulsion of the Hyksos to the associated reigns of Ramesses and Sethos of dynasty 19, to whom he assigns 59 years.[2] Dynasty 19 has 194 years in Eusebius, the Old Chronicle and the Sothis book. But

[1] Josephus, *Contra Apion*, i. 15.

[2] *Ib.*

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Sethos I. has only 55 years in Eusebius, whereas Manetho, as Josephus informs us, allowed him 59 years; hence we must consider 198 years as the original sum. Dynasty 20 has 178 years in Eusebius, but the same chronologist has 348 years for dynasty 18, in place of the 334 of Josephus—that is, 14 years more. Four of these 14 years were deducted from dynasty 19 as we have just seen, and the remaining 10 years were probably deducted from dynasty 20, which is anonymous in Eusebius. This conjecture is confirmed by two facts: (1) The Sothis book, which gives the reigns in detail, has 189 years, or only one year more. (2) The Old Chronicle, which generally follows Eusebius in the length assigned to each dynasty, gives only *two* kings in dynasty 23, with 19 years. On comparing with Eusebius we find that these are the last two kings of that dynasty. If we restore the first king, Petubastes, with 40 years, it will require a corresponding reduction from some other dynasty, and dynasty 20 has 228 years, or just 40 years more than the sum of the Sothis book and Eusebius. Dynasty 21, as we learn from the monuments, was contemporary with dynasties 20 and 21, and dynasty 22 immediately succeeded to dynasty 20. Even the Sothis list indicates this; for, after a number of kings named Ramesses (=dynasty 20), it follows with a king named Koncharis—a mutilated form of Sesoncharis (=Sesonchis), as another part of the same list proves. Now dynasty 22 begins with Sesonchis, the Shishak of the Bible, who invaded Judah in the 5th year of Rehoboam. There are two readings for the length of the reign of Sesonchis: Africanus has 21 years and Syncellus 34 years—a difference of 13 years. We hold that where there is a various reading in Manetho's lists, one of the numbers sometimes indicates a synchronism with Biblical or Grecian history. As these lists have reached us solely in the works of Jewish and Christian chronologists, the most important synchronism of the reign of Seconchis, from their point of view, naturally was his invasion of Judah. Hence the 14th year of Shishak was marked as the date of that invasion, *as the 13th year of Tothmosis was similarly marked as the date of the exodus.* Hence 14 Shishak = 5 Rehoboam, and Manetho placed dynasty

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19 (198 + 188 + 13) 399 years before the 5th of Rehoboam. In another section it will be shown that Rehoboam's 5th year must be placed in 924 B.C. (sec. 15), hence Manetho's date for dynasty 19 was (924 + 399) 1323 B.C.

10. Dynasty 18 is in a great deal of confusion in the present lists of Manetho's dynasties. Its sum of 334 years in Josephus must be reduced, in the first place, by the 87 years of its three last kings, who are simply duplicates or repetitions of dynasty 19, as nearly all Egyptologists are now agreed. Secondly, if Ramesses I. and Sethos were the immediate successors of Horus, as the monumental lists and Manetho's story of the usurpation of Osarsiph proves, then the five successors of Horus in Josephus, reigning 49 years 10 months, must be identified with the heretic disk worshippers contemporary with the first part of dynasty 19. From the 13th year of Misphra Tothmosis to the last year of Horus, Josephus gives us the following list, with which we compare the succession according to the monuments:—

| Manetho. | Years. | Months. | Monuments. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Misphra Tothmosis reigned after the expulsion of the "captive shepherds," | 25 | 4 | 1. Mi(n)sheperra Tutmes III., 53 yrs. 11 mths. 2 days. |
| 2. Tothmosis, . . . | 9 | 8 | 2. Amenhotep II., over 30 yrs. |
| 3. Amenophis, . . | 30 | 10 | 3. Tutmes IV., over 6 yrs. |
| | | | 4. Amenhotep III., over 35 yrs. |
| 4. Horus, . . . | 36 | 5 | 5. Hor. |

A mere glance at this table shows that Amenophis II. and Tothmosis IV. have been transposed in Josephus' list, and that Amenophis III. is entirely omitted. Manetho himself allowed only 13 years to the usurpation of Osarsiph-Horus, hence the 36 years 5 months of Horus in Josephus' list must belong to Amenophis III., whose 36th year is found

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on the monuments. Manetho's original list was therefore as follows :—

| | Yrs. | Mths. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Misaphris Tothmosis III., after the exodus, | 25 | 4 |
| 2. Amenophis II., | 30 | 10 |
| 3. Tothmosis IV., | 9 | 8 |
| 4. Amenophis III., | 36 | 5 |
| 5. Horus or Osarsiph, | 13 | 0 |
| Total, | 115 | 3 |

Consequently Manetho placed the Hebrew exodus 115 years 3 months before dynasty 19, that is, in (1323 + 115) 1438 B.C., and the chronology down to 14 Sesonchis I. is as follows :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Misaphris Tothmosis III., after the exodus, | 25 yrs. | 4 mths. | 1438 B.C. |
| Amenophis II., his son, | 30 ,, | 10 ,, | 1413 ,, |
| Tothmosis IV., his son, | 9 ,, | 8 ,, | 1382 ,, |
| Amenophis III., his son, | 36 ,, | 5 ,, | 1373 ,, |
| Horus or Osarsiph, a usurper, | 13 ,, | 0 ,, | 1336 ,, |
| Ramesses I., son of Amenophis I., | 1 ,, | 0 ,, | 1323 ,, |
| Sethos I., his son, | 59 ,, | 0 ,, | 1322 ,, |
| Ramesses II., Miamun, his son, | 66 ,, | 0 ,, | 1263 ,, |
| Menophath, his son, | 20 ,, | 0 ,, | 1197 ,, |
| End of dynasty 19 (198th year), | | | 1126 ,, |
| Dynasty 20, 12 Ramessides, | 188 ,, | 0 ,, | 1125 ,, |
| Dynasty 22 begins; Sesonchis, first king, | 13 ,, | 0 ,, | 937 ,, |
| Invasion of Judah, in 5th year of Rehoboam, | | | 924 ,, |

11. The monuments offer the following proofs of the correctness of this table. It will be noticed that, with only two exceptions, all our arguments are based on astronomical evidence—the most absolutely certain of all proofs—

(*a*) Gladstone has shown[1] that the legend of the Pseudodusseus has been borrowed from the account of the expedition of the Achaiusha (Achaians) and other Grecian tribes in the 5th year of Minptah, and elsewhere,[2] he says: "that expedition took place shortly before, or near [rather "after"] the date of the War of Troy." In our table Minptah's accession coincides exactly with the year of the fall of Troy (sec. 18).

(*b*) The building of Tyre, by which we should probably understand its rebuilding, and, as Movers supposes, the transference of the Phœnician hegemony from Sidon to Tyre, took

[1] *Time and Place of Homer*, 183–187. [2] *Ibid.*, 187.

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place, as we shall show, in 1198 B.C.; consequently Minptah, who was in communication with Baal-merom-gabu, king of Tyre, in his 3rd year, must have commenced to reign after 1198 B.C. According to our chronology, the rebuilding of Tyre, and the transference of the seat of government from Sidon, must be placed in the 66th year of Ramessu II. There seems to be an allusion to the occasion for this rebuilding in the travels of the Egyptian Mohar, in the latter part of the reign of this king, for he states that Tyre had then been recently burnt.[1]

(*c*) Riel[2] has shown that the Ramesseum indicates that the rising of Sothis took place on the 16th day of Thoth, in the reign of Rámessu II. This indicates the years 1265-62. In our table Ramessu II. begins to reign in 1263 B.C.

(*d*) Sethos I. has a title, *nem mesu*, which has been interpreted to mean the "*new birth*," and has been supposed by Brugsch to refer to the Sothic epoch of 1322 B.C. It is seen by our table that this conjecture is correct, and it is probable that the name Seti (=Set, the Egyptian name of the dog-star) was assumed on his association with his father in the latter's 2nd year, in the last year of the coincidence of July 20 with Thoth I. of the vague year.

(*e*) The astronomer Theon says the Sothic cycle, beginning July 20, 1322 B.C., was called by the Egyptians the era of *Menophres*. This is an exact transcription of *Menpehora*, the throne-name of Ramessu I., who associated his son Sethos with him in 1322 B.C. Hincks was the first to point out this identification, and his conclusion is adopted by Mr. Basil Cooper.[3]

(*f*) "On the first day of Athyr, in the year 11 of Amenophis III., the king ordered an immense basin to be dug, and on the 16th of the same month he celebrated a great panegyry of the waters."[4] "If," as Browne observes on this extract, "the waters were let in when the Nile had reached its

[1] Sayce, *Anct. Emp. of the East*, 183.

[2] *Sonnen u. Sirius-Jahr der Ramessiden.*

[3] In E. de Bunsen, *Chronol. of the Bible.*

[4] Hincks, as quoted by Browne, art. "Manetho," in *Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit.*, v. 3.

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highest point, which is from 90 to 100 days after the summer solstice, this would indicate in the 14th century B.C., about Oct. 4-14. The 16th of Athyr fell on these days of the Julian year 1369-1326 B.C." In our chronology the 11th of Amenophis III. is 1363 B.C., which agrees exactly.

(*g*) Floigl[1] assumes that the coronation of the kings of Egypt always took place on the first new moon after their accession, and he calculates that Amenophis III., whose coronation day was Epiphi 13,[2] ascended the throne in 1398 B.C. But the date already ascertained in the preceding paragraph proves that Amenophis III. could not have ascended the throne *before* (1369 + 10) 1379 B.C. The new moon of Epiphi 13, 1398 B.C., was visible on the same day, at intervals of 25 years, hence also in 1373 B.C., our date for the accession of Amenophis III. This and the preceding astronomical date seem to render it certain that this king's accession cannot be moved up higher than 1373 B.C., consequently we have here astronomical proof that Horus reigned only 13 years, as Manetho testifies. For, from 1 Amenophis III. to 1 Rameses I. are (1373-1323) 50 years, and Manetho's figures give us (36.5 + 13) 49 years 5 months.

12. According to the inscription of the captain Amenemhib,[3] who plays an important part in the numerous campaigns of Tutmes III., this king died on the 30th of Phamenoth, in the 54th year of his reign. He began to reign on the 4th of Pachons,[4] from which to 30 Phamenoth are 332 days: hence his reign lasted exactly 53 years, 11 months, and 2 days. These figures are of course reckoned according to the official vague year of 365 days. In the fixed Egyptian year of Manetho (equivalent to the Julian) there were 13 leap years in 53 vague years, consequently in Julian time Tutmes III. reigned only 53 years, 10 months, and 19 days. As Manetho's lists give no *days*, he would necessarily count only 53 years 10 months. During the early part of his reign Tutmes III. was only nominally king: the real ruler was his sister Amenasu-hat (the Amenses of Manetho), and towards the end of his reign he

[1] *Gesch. des sem. Alterthums*, 46, 47.
[2] Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, i. 439.
[3] *Ibid.*, i. 355.
[4] *Ibid.*, i. 321.

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associated his son Amenhotep II. with him.[1] How long this joint reign lasted is not recorded, but there is a clue on the obelisk of the Lateran which enables us to determine this point. Tutmes IV. completed this obelisk in the 7th year of his reign, probably shortly after the record of his alleged victories in the same year, on the 8th day of Athyr;[2] for the inscription on the obelisk alludes, in the usual grandiloquent style, to his great success in subduing his enemies. Now the obelisk also states that it had remained in the hands of workmen *after the death of Tutmes* III., until it was completed by Tutmes IV., 35 years "and upwards."[3] Amenophis II. reigned altogether 30 years 10 months, which, added to the 6 years 2 months of Tutmes IV., make exactly 37 years. If we allow only 4 months over the 35 years to account for the "upwards" of the inscription, we have (37-35 years 4 months=) 1 year 6 months as the duration of the associated reign of Tutmes III. and Amenhotep II. As the whole reign of Tutmes III. was 53 years 10 months, we can now divide his reign, with great exactness, into its component parts, as follows:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. With his sister Amenasu-hat, | 14 yrs. 3 mths. | 1465 B.C. | Pachons 4. April 20. |
| 2. Alone until the exodus, . | 12 ,, 9 ,, | 1451 ,, | Mesore 4. July 20. |
| 3. Alone after the exodus, . | 25 ,, 4 ,, | 1438 ,, | Pachons 4. April 20. |
| 4. With his son Amenhotep II. | 1 ,, 6 ,, | 1413 ,, | Thoth 1. August 4. |
| Total, . | 53 yrs. 10 mths. | to 1411 B.C. | Phamenoth 30. February 3. |

If we assume that Sethos was associated with his father Rameses I. on July 20, 1322 B.C., then the 116 years 3 months that Manetho reckons from this reign to the exodus, bring us to precisely the same point, April 20, 1438 B.C., as the above table.

[1] Wiedemann, *Ægypt Gesch.*, 321. [2] Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, i. 413.
[3] *Records of the Past*, iv. 15.

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The monuments show us that in the 15th and 16th years of Amenasu-hat, Tutmes III. is mentioned as joint ruler. These years refer to the 21 years 7 months of Amenses, and not, as has been erroneously assumed, to the years of the joint reign of Amenses and Tutmes III. They simply indicate that the brother and sister reigned together *at least* (21-14) seven years, but they throw no light on the first year of association. According to our chronology, the sole reign of Tutmes III. falls in the fifteenth of his 53 years' reign. Now there is an inscription of this very year, of which an abstract has been given by Brugsch,[1] who has no doubt that it refers to *the coronation of the king*. In the course of the inscription Tutmes III. speaks of his sister driving him to the marshy country difficult of access. "There Tutmes III. remained without office or position in the temple of Ammon. For it is no fable: as long as I was a child and a boy I remained in his temple; never once as a seer of the god did I hold an office." From this we may infer with certainty that his sister was dead, as he hardly would have thus publicly spoken of her cruel treatment while she was alive.

13. The following astronomical dates confirm the preceding restoration :—

(*a*) In the 23rd of Tutmes III. there was a new moon on the 21st of Pachons.[2] As this could happen only once in 25 Egyptian vague years, this notice is of great chronological value. Mr. B. Cooper's calculation[3] shows that a new moon fell on Pachons 21, in 1493 B.C., and he therefore places the accession of Tutmes III. in (1493 + 22) 1515 B.C. But the same coincidence happened in 1468 and 1443 B.C., and this last date is exactly the 23rd year of Tutmes III. in our system, and the next two dates prove that 1443 B.C. is the only possible year.

(*b*) One of the inscribed blocks in the island of Elephantine, a fragment of an immense temple erected there by Tutmes III., informs us that, in some unmentioned year of his reign, the rising of the dog-star Sothis happened on the 28th of Epiphi.[4] As this fragment was once part of a com-

[1] *Hist. of Egypt*, i. 378-83.
[2] *Ibid.*, i. 324, compare 396.
[3] E. de Bunsen, *Chronol. of the Bible*, 105.
[4] Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, i. 395.

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plete catalogue of the local yearly feasts, the rising of Sothis must have been noted for the day on which it was visible in Elephantine. The Sothis rose on July 20 at Memphis, but about six days earlier, on July 14, at Elephantine. The first of Thoth coincided with these dates in 1325-22 B.C. at Memphis, and in 1301-1298 B.C. at Elephantine. As 28 Epiphi is 38 days before the 1st of Thoth, and as the Egyptian vague year loses one day every four years, this implies an interval of (38 × 4) 152 years, which, added to 1301-1298 B.C., will place the Sothis rising in the reign of Tutmes III. in 1453-50 B.C.[1] Now this very temple at Elephantine, of which the inscription is a fragment, was erected in the *second* year of Tutmes III.[2] This cannot mean the second year of his nominal reign, beginning in 1465, for he was then a mere child, probably not more than ten years of age, banished to the inaccessible marshes of the *north* of Egypt by his ambitious sister, who, besides, was hardly the kind of woman that would have allowed the building of temples without taking all the credit to herself. The second year must mean the second year of his *sole* reign, commencing with his 15th, in which, as we have shown from the monuments, he was *re-crowned* after the death of his sister. Now his 16th year, or second of his sole reign, falls in 1450 B.C., or in the last of the above four years.

(*c*) The rising of Sothis fell on Epiphi 28, *at Elephantine*, on July 14, in 1453-50 B.C., but on Mesore 4 or July 20 *in Memphis*. This, as our table shows, is the date of the beginning of Tutmes III. as sole ruler, and we can now understand why such an ordinary event as the rising of the dog-star, which happened every year, should have been thought worthy of special record: *it marked the year of his accession as sole king*. This conclusion is confirmed by the only two other reigns in which such risings are recorded. The Sothis rising of 16 Thoth in 1263, and of 1 Tybi in 842 B.C., both indicate the year when Ramessu II. and Takelut II. began their sole

[1] Lieblein, *Ægypt. Chronol.*, 38, 39, also advocates 1453-50 B.C.
[2] Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, i. 394.

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reigns. And there is another notice of a Sothis rising in the reign of Tutmes III., which not only confirms this view, but also proves beyond a doubt that our 28 Epiphi is rightly placed in 1453-50 B.C. In the 33rd year of Tutmes III. the Sothis is recorded as rising on Mesori 12—that is, 8 days later than the rising on Mesori 4, in his first year as sole ruler.[1] As 8 days indicate an interval of 32 years, this proves conclusively that the first of these 33 years was reckoned from 1450 B.C., for the Sothis star did in fact rise on Mesori 12 in 1421-18 B.C., and this implies 1453-50 B.C. as the earliest possible dates for the first of Tutmes III. The exact year in question was 1419 B.C.

(*d*) In the reign of the same Tutmes III. there was a celebration of a festival of one of the seasons on the 21st of Pharmuthi of the vague year. Biot, the French astronomer, supposes that the vernal equinox is referred to, and, according to his calculations, the year 1444 B.C. is intended.[2] This year agrees with our chronology.

14. In the preceding sections we have shown that Manetho placed the exodus in the reign of Tutmes III., in 1438 B.C., and that the monuments confirm this date. We will now bring two facts from the same monuments that point directly to Tutmes III. as the pharaoh of the exodus, confirming Manetho's statement.

(*a*) In a chamber of a tomb in the hills of Abd-el-Qurnah, there is a graphic representation of the making of bricks by captives of Tutmes III., many of whom have strong Jewish features.[3] The overseers are represented with sticks, and "insist with vehemence obeying the orders of the great skilled lord" . . . . and the overseer (Rois) speaks thus to the labourers: "*The stick is in my hand, be not idle.*" Compare this with the Biblical account of the making of bricks (Ex. i. 14), especially Exodus v. 17, where we have almost the identical words of the overseer, and there can be scarcely any reasonable doubt that this pictorial representation and the Biblical account of the oppression refer to the same thing.

[1] Browne, art. "Manetho," in Kitto's *Cycl. of Bibl. Lit.*, v. 3, p. 49.
[2] Nash, *Pharaoh of the Exodus*, 129.
[3] Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, i. 375, 376.



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(*b*) But to make the identification doubly sure, there is a curious fact brought out by Palmer[1] as follows: "The monuments supply another indication, approaching still nearer to a proof, that he [viz., Tutmes III.] and no other is the king under whom the exodus took place. For in the mounds of Heliopolis, one of the cities according to the LXX. which were fortified by the labour of the Hebrews, many sun-baked bricks, bearing the stamp of Thothmes III. have been used, which, on being broken, show that they were made *without straw;* whereas ordinarily the earth, of which these bricks are made, is held together by a mixture of chopped straw. It is impossible not to see how this singularity is accounted for by the Scriptures."

In the light of all the preceding facts and astronomical confirmations, there can be no doubt THAT TUTMES III. WAS THE PHARAOH OF THE EXODUS, and that an important division of his reign ended about APRIL 20, 1438 B.C., our date for that event. We will now examine the evidence of Biblical chronology, which ought to lead us to the same year, if the preceding deductions are correct.

15. The chronology of the period of the divided kingdoms of Judah and Israel must be entirely reconsidered since the discovery of the Assyrian Eponym Canon, which is confirmed by Ptolemy's astronomical canon, and its chronology is proved to be absolutely certain by the eclipse of 763 B.C. The writer of this paper has attempted elsewhere to show[2] that the Bible, rightly considered, agrees exactly *to the year* with this famous chronological document. It is sufficient for our present purpose if we start with the accession of Jehu, king of Israel, which, in agreement with the Eponym canon, we place in 841 B.C. As Ahab was fighting at Karkhar against Salmanassar II., king of Assyria, in 854 B.C., according to the same canon, and died fighting against Benhadad of Damascus at Ramoth Gilead, according to the Bible, we cannot place his death any

[1] *Egyptian Chronicles*, i. 194, 195.

[2] In a paper entitled "A Newly Discovered Key to Biblical Chronology," art. 3 of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, January 1888.

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higher than 853 B.C. Nor can we place it any lower, because a comparison between the years assigned to the predecessors of Ahab, and the corresponding synchronisms with the kingdom of Judah, shows that the reigns of the Israelitish kings were reckoned according to a system which obliges us to deduct one year in every case. Hence the 2 years of Ahaziah, and the 12 years of Joram, the successors of Ahab, are really only (11+1) 12 full years, and added to 841 B.C., bring us to 853 B.C. for the death of Ahab. According to the Bible, Ahab died in the 17th year of Josaphat, king of Judah, whose first year is the 4th of Ahab. Ahab begins in the 38th of Asa, whose 2nd year is the 22nd year of Jeroboam I., the first king of Israel. Hence the era of the beginning of the Israelitish monarchy cannot be placed any higher than [(16+3+37) 56 − 1 + 21 = 76 + 853 = ] 929 B.C. Solomon apparently died after Nisan in that year, and Jeroboam probably dated his first official year from Tisri. In agreement with the practice of the Assyrian monarchs, Rehoboam probably did not begin his first official year until Nisan of 928 B.C. Hence his 5th year, in which the invasion of Shishak took place, was 924 B.C.

16. If Solomon reigned 40 years, his first year would seem to be 968 B.C., and his 4th 965 B.C. But we learn from the Bible (1 Chron. xxiii. 1, compare xxix. 22) that he was already associated as king during David's lifetime, and it is probable that, like Josaphat and Jotham, he did not begin to date his regnal years until the death of his father. The Bible does not say how long this joint-reign lasted, but fortunately the contemporary Tyrian annals enable us to determine this point with great exactness. According to Menander[1] the Tyrian annals counted 155 years and 8 months, or in round numbers, 156 years from the accession of Hiram to the building of Tyre, and from the 4th of Solomon (= 12th of Hiram) 156 − 11 = 145 years. According to the unanimous testimony of Timæus, Dionysius Halicarnassus, Aristotle, Pliny, Cicero, Velleius and Eusebius,[2] the building of Carthage must be

[1] Josephus, *Contra Apion*, i. 18.
[2] See Unger, *Chronol. des Manetho*, 214, 215.

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placed in 814-13 B.C., consequently the 4th of Solomon was (814+145) 959 B.C., so that Solomon's associated reign lasted for (965-959) 6 years.

17. But admitting that Carthage was built in 814 B.C., it might be argued that this need not necessarily coincide with the flight of Elissa from Tyre in the seventh year of Pygmalion, where the above 145 years terminate. There may have been an interval of several years, perhaps even enough years to save the credit of Ussher's chronology, which many people seem to think is a part of the inspired record, because it happens to be printed by Act of Parliament in the Authorised Version of the Bible. But Josephus[1] effectually disposes of this possibility by informing us, from the same Tyrian annals, that the fourth of Solomon and the twelfth of Hiram were also registered as the 240th year since the building of Tyre. Consequently, from the building of Tyre to the building of Carthage are exactly (239+145) 384 years. Now Justin (xviii. 3, 5) informs us that Tyre was built in the year before the destruction of Troy, hence there were from the year *after* Troy just 382 years. This last sum agrees exactly with Castor of Rhodes' list of the nations "who held dominion over the sea *after* the Trojan war,"[2] which has, from the Lydian dominion, which is named first, to the end of the Phœnician dominion (which obviously ended with the flight of Elissa with the navy of Tyre), exactly 382 years. The only point to consider then is the date of the fall of Troy.

18. The fall of Troy we place in 1197 B.C., for the following reasons:—

(*a*) The Lydian monarchy and dominion of the sea begins in Castor of Rhodes about the time of the fall of Troy. The Parian chronicle places the accession of Alyattes, the third king of the last dynasty, in 605 B.C. His father Sadyattes has 12 years in Herodotus. Ardys, the second king, has 49 years in the same author, but only 37 years in Eusebius. That the latter sum is right is shown by the cuneiform inscriptions which make Gyges, the first king, a contemporary, for some

[1] *Antiq.*, vii. 3, 1.
[2] Eusebius, *Chronicorum*, ed. Schoene, i. 225.

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years, of Assurbanipal, who did not begin to reign until 667 B.C., and (12+37) 49 years added to 605 bring us to 654 B.C. for Gyges' death. Herodotus' 49 years would place the death of Gyges in the year of Assurbanipal's accession (667-66 B.C.). Perhaps Ardys was joint ruler with Gyges for 12 years. Adding the 38 years that Herodotus assigns to Gyges, the dynasty of the Mermnadæ cannot be placed higher than 692 B.C. Now Herodotus allows for the preceding dynasty of the Heraclidæ 505 years, which bring us to 1197 B.C.

(*b*) The era of the fall of Troy, that found the most adherents among ancient historians and chronologists, placed that event 418 years before the first olympiad, which was celebrated in 776 B.C. As an olympiad was a period of four years, the *institution* of that mode of reckoning must have commenced in 779 B.C., and adding 418 we come to 1197 B.C. as before.

(*c*) Africanus places the fall of Troy in the last reign of Manetho's dynasty 19. As he commences dynasty 20 in 1195 B.C., and allows seven years to the last king of dynasty 19, his date for the fall of Troy was not later than 1196 B.C., nor earlier than 1202 B.C.

(*d*) The Roman chronicle cited by Syncellus,[1] reckons 1153 years from the fall of Troy to the associated rule of Augustus and Antony in 44 B.C., therefore its date is exactly our year 1197 B.C.

(*e*) Lastly, Eustathius counts from the capture of Troy to the accession of the Greek emperor Anastasius, in April 491 A.D., 1686 years and 7 months, consequently his date is September 1197 B.C.[2]

19. If the fall of Troy was 1197 B.C., then the era of the building of Tyre was 1198 B.C., and consequently its 240th year (=4 Solomon) was 959 B.C., and its 385th year (=building of Carthage) was 814 B.C. The 4th of Solomon is therefore indisputably the year 959 B.C. The Bible says that the 4th year of Solomon was the 480th year after the exodus from Egypt, hence the exodus must be placed in (959+479) 1438

[1] *Chronographia*, ed. Dind, 587, 588. [2] Unger, *Chronol. des Manetho*, 225.

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B.C., or in the exact year already found according to the Egyptian evidence. This coincidence alone proves the genuineness and authenticity of the "480 years." As the writer has devoted a special paper[1] to the consideration of this number, he would refer his readers thereto for further proof, if any be needed.

20. According to the Egyptian evidence the exodus took place about April 20th. That it must be placed some time in April is evident: (1) Because Josephus[2] makes the month Nisan run parallel with the Alexandrian Pharmuthi, which began March 27. Therefore the 14th of Nisan—the day of the exodus—could not have been *earlier* than April 9. (2) The passover was celebrated on the full moon after the vernal equinox, which fell on April 3rd or 4th, in 1438 B.C. Hence any *later* month than April is out of the question.

21. The Egyptian evidence, both monumental, written, and astronomical, leads us to about April 20, 1438 B.C. for the year of the Hebrew exodus from Egypt. An independent investigation of Bible chronology, based on the astronomically proved date 841 B.C. for the accession of Jehu, and agreeing with the official chronology of the contemporaneous Tyrian kingdom, brings us to precisely the same year and month. We might therefore fairly rest our case here, confident that our readers will agree with us that we have proved our point. But we are fortunately in a position that enables us to offer an argument that leaves no possible room for doubt, since it demonstrates the *exact day* on which the exodus took place by one of those coincidences between Biblical and Egyptian chronology that could have happened only once in the whole course of pharaonic history. The importance of the subject and the length of this paper requires a separate article for the presentation of this final argument. Accordingly, in a future number of this review, we hope to have the pleasure of laying the results of our researches before our readers.

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[1] Art. 4 in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for July 1888. [2] *Antiq.*, ii. 14, 6.

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# THE DÖLLINGER-REUSCH HISTORY
## OF THE INTESTINE CONFLICT ON MORALS IN THE CHURCH OF ROME.

### PART II.

WE have already in the former paper noted some few of the points involved in the controversy within the Jesuit Order between the old doctrines of Moral Theology and the new. The innovators called the old views Rigorism, and the new ones the Mild, or Benevolent, or Benignant Views; but their opponents called the new system Laxism when viewed in its tendency and effects, or Probabilism when viewed in its theory. We have also had a slight glimpse of the manner in which, by means of the Confessional, any received theory passed from the pages of an author into tremendously practical operation upon the conscience and life of "penitents." These hints and glimpses we gained in the main from the historical episode of La Quintinye, and now we shall proceed to cull in a similar manner from the episode of Thyrsus Gonzalez, the thirteenth General of the Jesuits.

Twelve years had passed since La Quintinye made his appeal to Innocent XI., years in which the dream of recovering all the lost Church property in England had at one time seemed ready for realisation; and the Jesuit plan of securing the whole of it for their own Order had almost come "within the range of practical politics." But though James II. had come to the throne, William III. actually filled it; and though the Edict of Nantes had been revoked, the *Grand Monarque* was losing ground, and Jansenist doctrines were running high.

In September 1691 Father Ambrogio Ortiz received authentic tidings that at Dillingen, in Bavaria, was being secretly printed a book on the *Right Use of Probable Opinions*, by no less a person than his own General, Padre Thyrsus Gonzalez.



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The Order well knew that Gonzalez was a zealous opponent of the new morality. While still only a professor at Salamanca, he had written a book which the company refused him license to print. This, thought Padre Ortiz, is the same book, and lo, he is printing it without license! Ortiz himself had been one of the Revisers of the Society. So, under pretext of observing in Rome the festival of the Jesuit saint, Francesco Borgia, Ortiz took his way from Frascati, down the Alban Hills, and across the Campagna. Arrived in the eternal city he made for the Collegio Romano, now an extinct volcano, where, since the days of Minister Bonghi, the stranger finds the nucleus of a national Italian home of letters, under the name of the *Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele*. Padre Ortiz, however, found there the home of the Black Pope and his staff, and of the pretorians of Loyola's force. Knowing how unfavourable to the book in question were the Censors of the Company, he engaged fathers of great weight to remonstrate with the General on his intentions. Personally he adjured him to desist from publication. It could do no good either to the public or to himself, and would do much harm to both, especially to the General. In all countries he would have against him the whole Company. If, indeed, he had the work printed under the name of some one else the evil would be less, but as General he could not issue it without raising a storm. Above all he must take time. "I am not making haste," said General Gonzalez; "for twenty years I have pondered over it. Here is the book," he added, opening a drawer. "There it is, all right," replied Ortiz, "as long as it is nowhere else." The "Assistants" of the General added their urgent protests to those of Padre Ortiz; but Gonzalez "set his book before everything," to use the words of our authority.[1]

The fact is that both he and the Pope had spoken of his election as a special act of Providence, to give a check to Probabilism in the Society. But there was now a new Pope, and the "Assistants" being all five of one mind, were not to be appeased. Just as La Quintinye, on the one side, had

[1] See vol. ii. p. 45. An Italian document entitled *Fatto nel accuso del Libro d'Antonio Cella Dei*, etc., probably drawn up by Ortiz.

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carried his case beyond the General, so now do they, on the other side, carry theirs. They know how to choose their ground. To the Pope they represent that not only is the General about to bring out a book in itself undesirable, but that he is printing it in secret, and that too out of Rome. As a penalty for this temerity, and to gain time for maturely judging of the matter at issue, His Holiness orders the whole impression to be seized and placed in the hands of the Master of the Sacred Palace, as the chief censor is officially styled.

Hereupon Padre Francesco Diaz came to Padres Ortiz and Caneda, urging that it was by no means well that the book should be suppressed in the manner prescribed; better allow it to be published, because when it should come into the hands of the Master of the Sacred Palace, himself a Dominican, he would give copies to Aguirre and other Cardinals hostile to the Jesuits, and they would blaze it abroad through Rome; would even send it off to Holland, where it would be printed, and spread in every corner of Europe. Nothing would meet the case but to burn the book in Dillingen, or to seize it by the way, and to spread reports that it had been done by the Marchese Bagni, or some one like him. They were of little use if they did not know how to act in a matter so urgent. Lively as was this counsel of Padre Diaz it did not prevail. Padre Ortiz had another. The General, he said, was only a follower of Elizalde, whose book had been furtively printed in Freiburg, with the name of the author, and also that of the Society, although the Society had refused him a license, and even laid on a prohibition. The General indeed had attempted to procure a license, but the Revisers had been very severe, declaring the book to be full of errors already condemned in the writings of Baius, Jansenius, and others. Now, the course to take was this—collect together these errors, and move for a prohibition of the book. This would find occupation for the General without any open attack upon him, and tend to cure him by indirect means. Greatly was Padre Diaz content with this scheme, and offered to be himself the accuser, well practised as he was in the tribunals of Rome. His time, however, was too

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much occupied to permit of his applying himself to draw out from the work the erroneous propositions to be incriminated. This Padre Ortiz undertook to do; and he had his notes ready by Lent. From September to Lent drawing out the bad propositions in one book! In Rome the mills grind slow, even those of the *Dii minores.*

Padre Diaz for some days delayed the commencement of the suit, alleging his occupations. Meanwhile going to visit Padre Caneda in an illness, he met with a certain Monsignore Emanuel, governor of the well-known establishment of St. Giacomo de Spagnoli, and one of the formidable Court of the Rota. Upon him set Padre Diaz spitefully, alleging that he had harboured one of his friars who had got himself ordained bishop by the Greek patriarch.[1] Padre Caneda sought to appease him, and fearing they might come to action, at last told Padre Diaz to be gone. "I am not," cried Diaz, "a man to be turned out; and never shall I come back!" He knew that Ortiz was an intimate friend of Caneda; hence he took a grudge against him as well as the other. Not knowing this, Ortiz continued urging Diaz to proceed with the accusation, but all in vain.

At length Ortiz said, At least give me back Elizalde's book, and also my notes upon it. The book he did return, but the manuscript had been mislaid among his papers, and never could Ortiz get it from him. So he made a fresh copy, and proceeded before the tribunal of the Holy Office.

No sooner was the suit opened than Padre Diaz went to the General, showed him the manuscript of Ortiz, and told all he could in prejudice of him and Padre Caneda. He offered himself to defend the case, and boasted of his influence with members of the court. The General and other Padres named were to collect evidence favourable to Elizalde, but above all Ortiz and Caneda were to be sent away from Rome.[2] On the festival of the New Year, the General sent for

[1] So I read *Patriarca Reco* in our document. The editors place after *Reco* a note of interrogation. Cases of similar ordination are not unknown even in our own times.

[2] The document reads *era necessario mandar a Roma li P.P.* Caneda et Ortiz. I take it for granted that the *a* is a misprint for *da*, or else a fault of the MS.

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Ortiz and informed him that he had appointed him Rector of the College of St. Francis Xavier in Naples: the "Province" had requested it, and the Viceroy would have it so! The Province, adds our authority, had requested it because they (*i.e.*, the Jesuits of the province) were ordered or menaced by the General, and the Viceroy had declared himself quite opposed to it: which the General knew well, and knew early. On January 25, about fourteen of the clock in the *Collegio Romano*, notice was handed to Padre Ortiz to leave for Naples in three days; and at the same hour Padre Caneda received the precept of the General no more to speak to any one of his book on Probabilism.

So ends our interesting fragment, of which, keeping closely to the text, I have given the substance. The document which precedes it, a Latin dissection of Elizalde in twenty pages, is dated "*In Collegio Romano Idibus, Februarii* 1689."[1] Here, then, we have before our eyes the Censors of the Company, in the head-quarters of the Company, at work upon a writer of their own Order, one favoured indeed by the General, but not in harmony either with the leading Casuists or with the practical Jesuits, who had to confess nobles, princes, and all manner of men and women, desirable as subjects of the Society. Throughout, the Censor is hostile, often damnatory, and while consciously making war on known opinions of the General, now and then adroitly cites writings of his against points in Elizalde. Estrix was the Censor.

"This posthumous edition," complains the Censor, "no longer appears under the feigned name of 'Cella Dei,' but is exhibited on the theatre of the world with the author's real name. Yea, more" (here I employ small capitals for the sake of those who are not familiar with the use made by the Jesuits of their denominational title), "WITH THAT DIVINE NAME, WHICH IS ABOVE EVERY NAME OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS."[2] The great crime of Elizalde is that he sets up in the Society a diversity of opinion, by contending against what its best

[1] Elizalde wrote under the name of "Cella Dei."

[2] Nunc vero aperta fronte, proprio notatus nomine, atque divino illo quod est super omne nomen Societatis Jesu. Vol. ii. p. 42.

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writers contend for. In fine, he rejects "all the Probables"; that is, the Equi-Probable, the Less-Probable, and the More-Probable, yea, even the reputedly certain.[1] He holds that all of these are incompetent as a rule for the conscience, that, nothing short of direct truth gives a competent rule, and that direct truth is necessary. Now in all this system of doctrine Padre Elizalde differs in opinion not only from (italics mine) the *entire school of the Society, but also from the whole republic of Catholic theologians* (vol. ii. p. 44).

One of the minor literary pleasures of the Döllinger-Reusch book is the quiet way in which the authors dispose of such assumptions as the one we have above, of ancient and universal authority for the *Relaxatores*. Shortly citing evidence in point, they, with a glance, pass on.

When Padre Ortiz resolved to flog General Gonzalez on the back of Elizalde, he knew of the instrument prepared by the Censors, and lying ready. Doubtless those of the others were equally severe with the one before us. Among the particulars laid to the charge of the erring brother, the following are a very few. In this point and that he reproduces errors already condemned in the writings of Baius and Jansenius. In fact, the charge of Jansenienism is suggested all along. He says that a transgressor would not be excused of guilt, even though he followed the opinion of 600 bishops, citing in proof the Council of Rimini and others. He says that the Scriptures are epistles of Almighty God sent to us, therefore they are to be known. If the Corinthians or Romans had not read the epistles written to them, but had neglected and ignored them, their ignorance would not excuse them. In that case any transgressors against precepts contained in them, might indeed be in ignorance, but the ignorance would be voluntary. But the Holy Scriptures are an epistle to us all, written to teach us how to live. So to neglect or ignore them is a grave crime. Here, perhaps, I may add the words of the Censor:—

[1] Omnia enim, tam æque quam minus probabilia, et probabiliora, quin etiam certa existimata tanquam insufficientia pro regulanda conscientia repellit: et unicam veritatem directam sufficientem esse et necessariam contendit. Vol. ii. p. 44.

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"In these terms Elizalde manifestly includes all who are reckoned as members of the Church of God. But, indubitably, the major part of the Church does not sin either personally or by inference, although they may be ignorant of the Apostolic Epistles, or of almost all Holy Scripture, or though they may neglect, or even shun, the reading thereof. To this class pertain all women, rustics, soldiers, and uneducated people generally, who, though they may come into possession of Holy Scripture in the vulgar tongue, are not bound to read it; indeed, they are held by precept of the Church not to read.[1] Is the ignorance of all these strictly voluntary and gross? Does their ignorance in no wise excuse them if they, through ignorance, do anything against the Epistles of Paul?" (Vol. ii. p. 32.)

The Censor, of course, holds that the ignorance of such is invincible ignorance, and does excuse them.

One bad place in Elizalde, according to the Censor, is this, alleging that vincible and invincible ignorance are "both a kind of blindness, but holds that both are invincible by mere human power, and both vincible by divine grace and power." Another bad point is that, by him, the *Laxatores* are often called the more recent writers. Seldom does the *novus homo* like to be called a new man. Furthermore, he teaches that the doctors of the synagogue sinned in teaching wrongly upon morals, and the people sinned in following them; so may Catholic doctors sin in teaching wrongly, and the people in following. "The false dicta," these are the words laid to his charge, "of those teachers—Scribes and Pharisees—did not make actions safe, nor yet did they constitute a rule; and no more do the false dicta of our doctors make actions safe, or constitute a rule."

Here, complains the Censor, is the language in which Elizalde attacks the *religious*, the sons of the Church, as if he would batter them down with this ram: "The gates of hell shall not prevail!" He actually says—

"If we call for Scriptures, these new men (recentiores) say that is the spirit of heretics, or flat blasphemy; if we adduce pontifical bulls and ordinances, they say the ones cited are not received; and, if we quote the Fathers, then they were not scholastic theologians, did not employ exact language, spoke only as preachers and differed

[1] Non tenentur legere; immo tenentur ecclesiæ precepto non legere.

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among themselves. What remains? Plainly since all others are set aside, they are themselves everything. It will not do, they may rest assured, and the Church will prevail."

"Never," says the indignant Censor, "have I read any book by a Catholic writer in which I have found so little that is true." No wonder he holds it as a discredit to the actual authorities of the Society that they should think of giving to such a work their imprimatur; especially, seeing that in the Book of Terillus (an English Jesuit who lived and wrote in Flanders) the same imprimatur has been given to a solemn reprobation of Elizalde. Therefore, in a tone rather of command than of recommendation, does he insist that conflict of opinion shall not be permitted in the Society. He evidently thinks that men to sign a licence will hardly be found, not even through eccentricity or desire to comply with the will of the present Superiors. If they be found, great will be the disturbance. All the writers on morals belonging to the Society have opposed this doctrine. Many have directly written against Elizalde. If his opinions appear by permission, then will a throng rush into the fray, and "fiercer battle is never fought than one waged by men for religion and conscience." Moreover, the fight will spread beyond the Society to those "who commit to us the direction of their souls and the arbitrement of their spiritual affairs." This theology of Elizalde "condemns, as in sin, those whom, on the ground of ignorance, other theologians pronounce free of sin, therefore does it prescribe a strange Practice (remember the meaning of the word), one wide as the whole heaven from the old one; and that both in the administration of the sacrament of penance, and in the extra sacramental solution of cases of conscience. Therefore will spring up, with the concurrence of our superiors, a twofold school of morals, and with it a twofold Church."

This marks the point to which two years of the generalship of Gonzalez had brought the counter-movement against laxity, to lead which both he and Innocent XI. had believed to be his providential calling.

It was while itinerating in Castile, Toledo, and Andalusia as a mission-preacher, that Father Thyrsus Gonzalez first fell

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into perplexity of mind touching the doctrine of Probabilism. He had taught it from his chair of theology in Salamanca, as he had been trained in it; and, like his fellow-countryman, Cardinal Aguirre, had rested on it as a pillow of down, in his studies inquiring more if an opinion were probable than if it were true. In *practice* he had been wont to act on any opinion he deemed probable, and to counsel others accordingly. All Salamanca believed that you were safe in following a less probable opinion, so long as it was still a probable one.

The moral effects of this doctrine were often brought under the notice of Gonzalez in the course of his practice as a missioning confessor. Of the nature of these effects La Quintinye, from the other side of the Pyrenees, gives examples in three several lines. In the first place, the doctrine made confessors who were ready to console the perjured or the bigamous, confessors who adopted as their rule of judgment in any given case the conscience of the offender, even of such as might think wallowing in the mire to be no defilement—confessors who held that it was better to leave such consciences in innocent darkness than to disturb and tempt them by that entrance of the Lord's words which giveth light. In the second place, it made "penitents" who saw nothing to repent of in any action for which they might have obtained either the sanction of their own conscience or that of some writer or confessor. In the third place, it made preachers (this is a complaint most deeply felt by La Quintinye), who, though in general terms they would include such and such evil practices in an enumeration of sins, would not so preach against them as to send hearers away with a condemned conscience; ay, who bitterly censured La Quintinye for disturbing consciences, and stopped him in the midst of some courses of sermons, because, upon remonstrance, he would not desist from exposing what he held to be sins of the place and day.

If, south of the Pyrenees, the effects were not dissimilar to those on the north, we may understand how for Gonzalez the downy pillow began to change into one of thorns. He devoted the leisure months of three summers to the study of Probabilism. The consequence was a treatise, *De Recto Usu Opinionum Probabilium.* For this, through Oliva, the General,

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he sought leave to print, but in vain. The five Revisers were of one mind: doctrines of his objected to were such as these —1. He teaches that no one may act upon a less probable opinion opposed to a safer and more probable one, even when the greater probability of the latter is not manifest; but only it is by the person acting held to be the more probable. 2. He teaches that of two equally probable opinions, we should always choose the safer. 3. He teaches that the confessor should not give absolution against his own opinion, though according to one held by his penitent to be probable or more probable. 4. He teaches that when one is asked for counsel, he should always give it according to the opinion by himself held to be the more probable, and he should not answer according to a less safe opinion, even though by others held to be exceedingly probable. 5. He teaches that the true moral rule is not the probability, but the truth (of an opinion), or firm moral persuasion. 6. He teaches that objective truth does not suffice (there must be also a subjective persuasion).[1]

Though a digression, it may not be out of place here to remark that the term *opinion* is throughout employed in a legal, not in a philosophical sense. The whole process and conception are forensic. Subjects of law are seeking to serve "in the oldness of the letter," and not in the "newness of the Spirit." Consequently the question, instead of being, Can I not do more to magnify the law? is, Can I do what I desire without coming under the penalty of the law? So the solicitor draws out his Case, and the counsel gives his Opinion. The solicitor is the "penitent," the counsellor is the confessor. But the counsellor of the counsellors is the Professor of Moral Theology, who collates cases, formulates opinions, and becomes an authority whose dicta sway the tribunal of the inner court, *i.e.*, the Confessional.

In accordance with this forensic sense of the word, Opinion is the usage of our authors, who for opinion in the philosophical sense use *Ansicht*, or some equivalent; but for opinion in the legal sense uniformly use *Meinung;* so also in Latin documents writers generally employ in the one case *sententia*, in the other *opinio*. This accounts for the form of Gon-

[1] Vol. i. p. 123.

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zalez's title, "The right use of Probable Opinions." It is not a question of the truth of the opinion, that is the question for the counsel giving it! It is this question, A B having given the opinion that, in this case, acting so and so, I shall incur no penalty of law, and A B being a counsel learned in the law, this opinion is a probable one; now then shall I, or shall I not, proceed to act on this opinion, although I know that others more learned in the law hold differently from A B? In other words, is the right use of this opinion to act upon it as if it could never be overruled by the judge, or to take care to be safely within the liberties allowed to me by the law. It is only by getting a clear view of this purely legalistic posture of mind, as the key to the inquiries set up, that the discussion becomes fully intelligible to those whose habitual conception of service to Divine law is that of serving in newness of spirit, and not merely in the oldness of the letter—serving a law not only of restraint, but also of counsel, guidance, privilege, protection, holiness and delight.

No one will fail to remark the point where the analogy between the opinion of counsel and that of a confessor breaks down. In temporal courts the principal knows that if he has built his wall on the strength of a wrong opinion, the loss and cost will fall upon him, instead of upon the author of the "probable," but not true opinion. In the confessional the penitent believes that if he does wrong under shield of a probable opinion, then *by obedience* the responsibility is taken from off his soul, and laid upon the counsellor. The moral difference between the operation of the two systems is this: in the case of civil law the sense of personal responsibility in the principal is preserved, and if he break the law he will bear the penalty; but in the case of ecclesiastical law this sense of responsibility in the principal is destroyed, even if, on the advice of his confessor, he break the law of God, not he will have to answer to God, but the confessor. And in the second degree, if the confessor give wrong advice, on the strength of an opinion, emanating from a theologian, and therefore "probable," his responsibility is covered by the author of the "opinion." The sequel of our tale must follow in a third article.

WILLIAM ARTHUR.



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# RELIGIOUS PARTIES IN SWITZERLAND.

THE principal difficulty of the subject to be considered lies in the extreme diversity of the ethnological, political, social and religious conditions of life in this small country, consisting only of three millions of people. Besides, however, this diversity of races—German, French, and Italian—account must be taken of the opposition of the two great religious confessions, of which the Roman Catholic community comprises about one-third of the population, and the Protestants practically the remaining two-thirds. The results of this opposition are different in different parts of the country. In German Switzerland there is the conflict of opinions and religious tendencies; whilst in French Switzerland we find the friction is considerable between the established churches and those numerous churches, diverse in character, which exist apart from the State. Again, Switzerland labours under the disadvantage of extreme sub-division; there are even now, after some considerable attempts at unification, 22 cantons formed from the 25 states and 25 peoples of which the confederation is made up. How can one trace the currents of religious thought, on account of these strangely mingled elements, and conditions of existence more complicated and more active than exists anywhere else? Though not sanguine of success, we will make the attempt, not however noticing the more excentric elements of the subject, and leaving the Roman Catholic portion of the Swiss nation out of consideration.

It may be well to note at the outset the existence, in the sphere of religious opinion, of three clearly defined parties who dispute among themselves alike in church matters or on individual concerns. We will call them by the names by which they are known in German Switzerland, the principal theatre of their struggles. *First*, there is the party called "*Positiv;*" its members remain attached to the definite



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dogmas of religion and Christianity. *Secondly*, there is the party called "*Reformist;*" its members deny these dogmas. *Thirdly*, between these two there is the party called "*Juste-Milieu*," or the moderate party, named by its adversaries *der Vermittelung*, in German, but self-styled *die Mitte.*

German Switzerland Protestants have adopted also the name *Positiv*, to characterise the Conservative and Traditional party in religion, as opposed to the adjective *Reformist*, and keeping for themselves, as such, the name *Evangelisch*, as opposed to Catholic.

## THE POSITIV PARTY.

This party, taken as a whole, whether in German Switzerland, or in French Switzerland, has without doubt ceased to be the true representative of the orthodoxy set forth in the time-honoured profession of the reformed religion. Their adversaries have reason to reproach them, and it will be my business rather to censure than to eulogise them. The doctrine of predestination only counts a few representatives even in the party of the Right; the doctrine of the plenary inspiration of Holy Scripture has shed its last light with the venerable Gaussen of Geneva; however, the Theopneusty of Holy Scripture reigns supreme in the believing party of the people in the church.

According to such authorities in religion and morals as Godet of Neuchâtel, Riggenbach, D'Orelli of Basle, Oettli of Berne, and Häring of Zurich, the party of Right in theology profess that the Word of God is written alike in the Old as well as in the New Testament; and, moreover, that it will bear the strictest historical criticism concerning its dates and authorship; and they place the whole Bible within the sacred canon. They affirm that Jesus is the personal existing Son, begotten from the Father, and that He descended to earth to accomplish the redemption of "lost humanity," to propitiate by His death, and compel us by His resurrection, to believe in His return to glory. Upon these points, indeed, rests the real question at issue between the various sections in the party: it is (so to speak) within these walls that the struggle goes on. Here

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are the positions which we defend under the different names of *Positiv*, *Orthodoxic*, and *Evangelical* belief.

### THE REFORMIST PARTY.

This party apparently avows all the opinions of the *Positiv* party. There is less everywhere in German Switzerland of the old Deism which admits the personality of God, and the general government of individuals, but rejects the doctrine of an actively and incessantly intervening providence in human affairs. This Deism of a former generation well deserves the title that has been given it of inconsistent Atheism. This form of opposition to the Christian revelation is rapidly dying out in Switzerland, as everywhere else on the Continent, and its fate strongly verifies the sentence of St. John: "Whoso denieth the Son the same hath not the Father" (1 John ii. 23). The denial of Christ as the Son of God, and only Mediator and Intercessor between God and men, soon entails the denial of the Divine personality; Deism leads on to Pantheism, Pelagianism, and Fatalism. Still we might quote Mons. le Professor Cougnard de Genev, as a representative of this old Rationalistic Deism. I do not think I am mistaken when I say the Left party in German Switzerland is entirely devoted to the system which confounds God and the world, inheriting the errors of Schleiermacher, without having the vital elements of his system.

The principal points denied by the Reformist section have been collected and set down and compared with the statements of the Bible in a tract entitled *Entweder-Oder* (Either-Or), which appeared in 1886, the author of which is a "*Positiv*" pastor of Basle. His design is excellent: he endeavours to remove the haziness in which the *Reformist* pastors are enveloped, and which enables them to impose on the people. They go into so-called Christian pulpits at the sound of the bells, and clothed in the insignia of ministers of Jesus Christ, merely to give to their hearers the products of their own imagination.

As they are so skilful in clothing in Biblical terms statements entirely opposed to Biblical teaching, it is important to

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know the real meaning of the formulas which they disseminate in their ordinary preaching, in order that no one may be ignorant of the nature of their tactics; and also that independent, autonomous, and sincere as they profess themselves, they ought to be more so.

Pastor Kambli has written, in a tract called *Fromm und Frei* (pious and free), the following words on the origin of the world: "Can we still speak of a creation of the world? Every conception of a God who created the world in six days, six creative periods, and rested from all His work, has long since become altogether superannuated. Further, he remarks: "To the eye, which more deeply searches out wonders, the world does not present itself as something once called into existence to gradually become old, till ruin lays hold upon it, but like a thing eternally coming and going."

We will take another illustration of their denial of scriptural cosmogony, notwithstanding their profession of Christ, and their use of Biblical language in the pulpit. In a report presented in 1882 to the Swiss Pastoral Society, Mons. Furret, pastor of Zurich, and one of the authorised champions of the Reformist doctrine, proclaimed the absolute identity of moral and natural laws. "As for me," he said, "the natural laws are nothing but rays of the identical and eternal Divine will infinitely multiplied. As God out of His eternal Majesty has written on the heart of man, 'Honour thy father and thy mother, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness,' so He has said to the light, 'Go more quickly than the thought of man through space;' to the stars He has said, 'Follow your fixed ways;' and to all living beings, 'Appear, grow, mature and die!'" The absolute incompatibility of the view taken by Mons. Furret and Biblical doctrine has not prevented him from lately arranging conferences at Zurich for the defence of Christianity! The wolf who offers himself to defend the sheepfold would not show more ingenuity. To this school of destructive criticism the person of Christ is only one of the terms of the long evolution of humanity; according to Biedermann, late Professor of Dogmatics, Christ has only been the

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Beginner in humanity of the union of true Divine and true human quality, which the limited spirit takes from the unlimited. As a disciple of Hegel, he ignored the divine personality, and the personal government of the human soul.

The Swiss Reformist party, which once made great efforts to thrust out from its midst (*les enfants terribles*) troublesome people, or those who would compromise too much, has now learned to moderate its ways and soften its expressions, even to those who teach the most extreme doctrines. The late Mons. S. Vogeld, Professor of Æsthetics at the University of Zurich, in his youth, like many of the chief freethinkers, having been won for the new ideas, did not hesitate to scandalise Switzerland by the audacity of his denials; and I still remember the impressions produced twenty-five years ago by the news that, as a Swiss pastor, he taught that the death of Christ was less honourable than the death of Judas Iscariot. Also, willingly or otherwise, he changed his profession by leaving the Church, and giving his services to the University without anybody, so far as I know, attempting to dissuade him. This draught was too strong to swallow. The Reformistic journal, *Schweizer Protestantenblatt*, readily took a sentimental view of the matter, and went out of its way to give prominence to M. Vogeld's audacious denial of Divine verities. In politics, however, this journal in general represents the extreme Left, even courting Socialism, and professes, like the dyke, to oppose the flood of Materialism and of contemporary Atheism, and speaks with pity and indignation of the following final conclusion of Mons. Rednan: "Otherwise, to tell the truth, would be to lose one's reason, like the functionaries of an institution called a Church, and like ministers of a historic personage called Jesus Christ."

The Reformist party without perhaps decreasing in numbers, as each year brings it electoral victories, has certainly diminished in intrinsic worth. Death has carried away some of its prominent figures. Its chief leaders, Pastor Lang and Professor Biedermann of Zurich, have not yet been replaced; and now its most eminent, and also most respectable

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representative, is Dr. Furret, pastor at Zurich (whom we have mentioned before).

### THE VERMITTELUNG PARTY.

Between the Left and the Right, as we have mentioned, there is the *Vermittelung* party, which comprises the *Juste-Milieu* and *Mitoyens.* At this part of our narrative our embarrassment begins. During the several years that I have written the accounts of German Switzerland in the *French Switzerland Review,* I have not yet succeeded in finding out clearly for myself what is the belief of the *Juste-Milieu* party, but I can safely affirm that the fixed and constant underlying principle of this party is indifference with regard to all the doctrines except the most extreme. Now, what value can a personal confession of a personal faith have, if you admit at the same time a perfect liberty to deny its articles. We state, moreover, that this neutral, and apparently conciliatory attitude, has so far brought on this party more suspicion and rebuffs than approbation, and one sees the Mitoyens face in turn against the Right and against the Left, accused of treachery at the same time by one and the other.

A symptom of this two-faced position has been the publication of a pamphlet written last year by one of the models of the party, Pastor Langhans, and entitled, *Das gute Recht der Kirchlichen Mitte* (the Good Right of the Ecclesiastical *Juste-Milieu*). The author begins by giving us a profession of his faith, which in itself would do less harm by what it contains than by what is left out. Christ, he says, is the Redeemer. By His holy life, by His passion, and by His propitiatory death, He has made amends for the bad consequences of our sin; that His cross has shown the enormity of our wrong, but, at the same time, the still greater immensity of the Divine pity. It is by this faith that we know His children; and the spirit which Christ gives us enables us to live like His children in grateful obedience. But looking forward at the end of our life remains the last problem to be solved, the last enemy to be vanquished—death! This life is the journey, the work, the combat, the effort, and conducts to the life eternal to which

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we are called, and of which the risen Christ furnishes the assurance. In these tenets one sees everything; at least everything necessary seems to be there. It is left to be found out how the author and his party understand the resurrection —whether it is a bodily resurrection, or only an ideal one to which they refer. I should at this moment be greatly embarrassed if asked to answer this question. But what induces the author to address himself to the Right and the Left, and throw them in turn his sugared pill—a bitter blame covered with praise. He concludes that both parties are, at the same time, both right and wrong; and that parties, as in State affairs, are indispensable to the administration of the Church. In the like position, indeed, are all the ecclesiastical politics, and all pastoral theology of the *Juste-Milieu.* By the side of this desire to work smoothly the constitution, the exact and authentic definition of its true doctrines, supposing even that they exist, would only offer relative interests.

A party which may be grouped with the ecclesiastical *Juste-Milieu*, though affirming in Switzerland a distinct existence, are the followers of the famous Ritschl, Professor at Götlingen, who is the actual chief of the most powerful school in Germany, the school of Ritschl, which separates itself from the doctrine of the personal pre-existence of Christ, and from the original party, but separates itself in turn from the *Reformist* party, which affirms its belief in the miracles and resurrection of Christ. It is represented in Switzerland, besides its individual adhesion by a circle, or *Kränzchen*, who have meetings sometimes in one town and sometimes in another, and which counts a number of members. The strength of the *Reformist* chiefly rests in East Switzerland; the principal seat of the *Juste-Milieu* is the canton of Berne; the headquarters of the Positiv party are at Basle, though this town, not the most conservative in Switzerland, is to-day half dragged along by political and religious Radicalism. But we leave the consideration of the rivalries of these parties for our next paper.

A. GRETILLAT.

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# ST. PAUL TO THE EPHESIANS.

**OPENING SALUTATION and BENEDICTION.**

1 1 PAUL, by divine appointment an apostle of Jesus Christ, to the saints who are in Ephesus, His faithful
2 members, sends greeting—Grace be yours and peace from God our Father and our Lord Jesus Christ.

**PRIVILEGES ENUMERATED.**

3 Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ for His full measure of benediction extended to us, carrying every spiritual privilege which heaven contains and
4 Christ bestows;—as shown by His choosing us into Christ before the foundation of the world, to be holy and blame-
5 less before Him; since he had in love fore-ordained us to be made through Jesus Christ sons to Himself—such was
6 the fiat of His will—to enhance the grandeur of His
7 grace made gratuitously ours in that beloved Son. In that Son we have the redemption which His blood obtained, the forgiveness of our trespasses—ample as His grace was
8 ample, lavished upon us in every gift of wisdom, specu-
9 lative and practical. For instance, He made known to us the Secret of His will, the outcome of that good pleasure of
10 His kept by Him steadily in view, to await the dispensation which should consummate the times, viz., the gathering up all under one head in Christ—all both in heaven and
11 earth in Him. In Him too we came into our inheritance, as fore-ordained thereto, agreeably to His design, who works
12 out all as His own will has decreed. So that we Jews enhance His glory, who first fixed our hopes on the Mes-
13 siah; in whom you Gentiles too, on becoming hearers of the word of truth, the glad news of your salvation—aye and believers also—were by the Holy Spirit, (promised
14 once and now bestowed in earnest of our title), sealed to that redemption which makes you peculiarly His own:—thus too enhancing His glory.

We are

(1) *elected,*

(2) *foreordained to adoption,*

(grace thus magnified),

(3) *redeemed, and thus*

(4) *forgiven,*

(5) *gifted with wisdom.*

(6) *endued with knowledge of God's secret purpose, held from first to last;* viz., *the consummation of all in Christ;*

(7) *made heirs.*

Thus Jew and Gentile (on whose admission to privilege special stress is laid) alike enhance the glory of God.



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PRAYER FOR SPIRITUAL GROWTH.
I thank God for your faith.

On this ground I too,[1] on hearing of the faith in 15
the Lord Jesus and love to all His saints which possesses
you, give thanks incessantly for you, as I mention 16

I pray for your higher spiritual enlightenment,

you amidst my prayers, entreating the God of our Lord 17
Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, to give you a spirit of
wisdom and insight into mysteries, through the fuller
knowledge of Himself:—may the eyes of your intellect 18

in respect (1) *of hope*,

be opened, to know what is the hope derived from His
calling you, what the wealth of glory among His Saints

(2) *of due estimate of your heritage*,

arising from the heritage which He allots to them, what 19

(3) *of God's power in you*,

the transcendent greatness of His power exerted on us who
believe, as due to that energy of omnipotent might put 20

parallel to that put forth in the Resurrection and Ascension of Christ, followed by

forth in Christ when He raised Him from the dead, and
seated Him at His own right hand in heaven above, high 21
over the hierarchy of angelic potentates in all their ranks
—yea, over every being, by whatsoever title called, not in
this life only but in that to come. For beneath His feet 22

His superlative exaltation, as Head of the Church, His Body.

He placed all that is, and gave Him a Head of suzerainty
to the Church, which is His Body, the full recipient of 23
His all-pervading fulness.

SURVEY OF THE SPIRITUAL HISTORY OF THE EPHESIANS.
What you were —led by the world and its ruler;

2 AND your case is that of being dead in your trespasses 1
and sins:—I refer to the time when you followed secular 2
and worldly ways, led by the Prince whose realm of power
is the air, the spirit busily at work even now in the sons
of disobedience; Among whom we too were all at one time 3

such too was I as well.

occupied in the lusts of our flesh, doing the bidding of
that flesh and its imaginings, and were (what nature made
us) children of wrath, just as much as the rest.

God's love called us from death in sin to life in Christ,

But God, Who is rich in mercy, through the vast love 4
which He felt for us, quickened even us, dead as we were 5
in our trespasses, to new life in Christ—for by grace it is
that your salvation is achieved—aye, and made us shar- 6

to rise and ascend with Him,

ers in His resurrection and ascension, as though in Christ
Jesus we were in heaven above:—His object being to dis- 7

[1] The "ground" is those privileges stated above, v. 3 foll. "I *too*" assumes the same thankfulness in those addressed.

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play in the ages yet to come His transcendent wealth of grace shown in His indulgence towards us in Christ Jesus. thus showing the richness of Divine grace.
8 For by that grace it is that your salvation is achieved
9 through faith—yet not of yourselves—God's is the gift—not Of grace, I say, for human merit is excluded;
10 of merit, to exclude all conceit of self. For His handi-
work we are, moulded in Christ upon good works which and good works follow, as God's appointment for us.
God laid down beforehand as our path to walk in.

11 Never therefore forget that there was a time when you, CONTRAST BETWEEN THE PAST AND THE PRESENT.
heathens in bodily *status*, denounced as uncircumcised by
the so-called circumcised (*i.e.*, through a bodily operation), I charge you to keep in mind your former state of exclusion, alienation, and godlessness;
12 were, while in that stage, outside Christ, cut off from the
privileges of God's people, aliens from their charter of
promise, unpossessed of hope and godless in God's world.

13 Now contrast your present state in Christ Jesus:—you, and that, once far off, you are in Christ brought near, as He abolished the barrier between Jew and Gentile, reconciling both to God and to each other. Thus
14 once so far remote were in His blood brought near. For
He Himself is our peace who made us, Jew and Gentile,
15 both into one, by breaking down the barrier which walled
us off and estranged us, and in His suffering flesh set
aside the law with its hard and fast lines. Of both thus
united in Himself He would create one new man, so
16 securing peace. Both, incorporated in one, He would re-
concile to God through His cross, after giving the death-
blow to that estrangement thereby.

17 Thus He came with a Gospel of peace to you Gentiles Peace and free access henceforth the lot of both. Hence
18 that were afar—of peace to us Jews that were near, be-
cause through Him we have access both together in one
Spirit unto the Father.

19 Now then you are no more strangers and outsiders, but in full privilege,
20 fellow-citizens with the saints and denizens of God; built
up on the foundation of the apostles and prophets with on sure foundation,
21 Jesus Christ Himself for the corner-stone; in Whom the you share the edification, which makes all a Temple of God.
whole structure is bonded together, and grows into a
22 shrine holy in the Lord: in Whom you also are being
built with us to form God's dwelling-place in the Spirit.

3 1 THIS is why I Paul, who wear the chains of Jesus DIGRESSION ON THE ADMISSION OF THE GENTILES.
2 Christ on behalf of you Gentiles—but first, I presume you I exhort then—but first claim
to have heard of the stewardship of Divine Grace given

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my own character—admitted to know God's hidden purpose (as above hinted),

once concealed,

now revealed,

viz., the calling of the Gentiles,

for whom I minister, however unworthy so to do,

declaring to them
(1) *the Gospel treasure,*
(2) *God's long hidden counsel,*
(3) *His wisdom revealed to angels through the Church.*

We enjoy freedom and access to God in Christ.

Do not despond on my account.

me for you; how by revelation He made known His 3
Secret to me. I was briefly referring to this above [i. 9
foll.] This will enable you, as you read what I have 4
said, to appreciate my sense of that Secret, the key to
which is Christ. In earlier ages this was not made known 5
to the sons of men, as it now stands revealed to His holy
apostles and prophets by the Spirit—viz., that the Gentiles 6
are co-heirs, co-members, co-partners in His promise made
in Christ by the Gospel; of which I became a minister, led 7
by the gift of God's grace bestowed upon me in virtue of
the energy of His power:—on me the least in account of 8
all saints was this grace bestowed—to evangelize the Gen-
tiles with that treasure of Christ past finding out, and to 9
enlighten all in the character of that dispensation[1]—the
Secret which during ages past lay hid in God the All-
Creator[1]—so that now, to the Princedoms and Powers 10
sphered above us, the Church is the means of realizing
the many-sided wisdom of God. For such was His eter- 11
nal purpose carried out in Christ Jesus our Lord; in 12
Whom we have freedom alike of speech and of access,
both assured through that faith of which He is the
object. I beg you therefore not to lose heart amidst my 13
afflictions borne on your behalf:—you ought rather to
glory in them.

PRAYER FOR SPIRITUAL ENRICHMENT.

I intercede that you may have
(1) *spiritual strength,*
(2) *Christ for your indweller,*
(3) *power to estimate love in all its fulness.*

With this object I intercede on bended knee to that 14
Father, from Whom all relationship in heaven and on 15
earth takes its name, that He would grant you—as out of 16
the wealth of His majesty He surely can—the mighty
invigoration of your inner man through His Spirit, the 17
indwelling of Christ in your hearts through faith; so
that, with love for your root and groundwork, you may 18
develop power to take in, with all the saints, to what
breadth and length, to what depth and height it reaches,
and to know, what outstrips knowledge, the love of Christ, 19
and so expand into the full sphere of God's completeness.

A DOXOLOGY INTERPOSED.

So now to Him Who is able to do for us, not merely 20

[1] Denotes that a reading is followed differing from the received text.

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what we ask or think, but far in excess of both, as measured
21 by the power which puts forth its energies within us—to
Him be glory in the Church and[1] in Christ Jesus to all the
ages of endless eternity. Amen.

**EXHORTATION.**

4 1 To resume then, I charge you—I who wear the Lord's
chains—that your course be one worthy of that calling
2 with which God has called you, with all humility, meek-
ness and long-suffering. Have a loving patience one for
3 another; studying to keep the oneness of the Spirit in the
4 bond of peace. For one is the Body, and one the Spirit to
which you belong, even as you were called in one hope
5 which all so called share. One is the Lord, one the faith,
6 one the baptism; one is God, the Father of all, Who is
above all, pervades all, and dwells in all.

I charge you, show graces worthy of your calling (several such touched upon).

Unity insisted on as an all-pervading principle. Its development, culminating in God.

7 Yet severally to each of us was His grace given, in pro-
8 portion as Christ endowed us. And so Scripture describes
Him as "ascending on high, reclaiming those whom the
9 enemy had captured and giving gifts to men." What else
then can this ascending of His imply, than that He first
10 came down to earth beneath? He then Who thus came
down is the same as He Who ascended up above the
heavenly sphere that He might pervade all that is;—
11 the same again Who gave some to be apostles, some
declarers of His truth, some evangelists, some pastors and
12 teachers; but all to perfect the equipment of His saints,
all for the service of the ministry, all to build up the Body
13 of Christ; until we all arrive at the oneness in faith and
knowledge of the Divine Son, reaching thus our perfect
standard, our full-grown measure of Christ's complete-
14 ness. So shall we be no more babes, tossing and swaying
with every wind of doctrine, at the mercy of human trickery,
15 which sticks at nothing in laying its trains to mislead; but
holding truth in love, shall grow at every point into Him,
16 Who is our Head—Christ, I mean, from Whom the whole
Body knit and compacted through every joint which sup-

Unity is possible notwithstanding individuality of gifts, as Christ is their common source, for Ps. lxviii. 18 applies to Him, in His Ascension, Who descended first; and, when re-ascended,

poured forth His gifts of office for the ministry of His Body,

that every member may reach the perfect standard in Christ.

Hence follows

1. *Subjective safety.*

This will safeguard from inconstancy and error,

2. *Objective vigour.*

Truth held in love will invigorate the whole frame at every point until perfected in love.

[1] Denotes that a reading is followed differing from the received text.

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plies its life, in proportion to the energy developed by each part, carries forward the growth of the whole to its structural completeness in love.

PRACTICAL ADVICE.
(1) *Negative.* Turn not back to heathenism with its ignorance, darkness, hardness, and desperation

This then is what I have to say:—I adjure you in 17
Christ's name, that the course of life pursued by the rest
of the heathen world be yours no more. They, in their 18
frivolity of mind and darkened moral sense, are estranged
from the life of God through the ignorance which besets
them, through their utter callousness of heart; whose case 19
is that of all feeling lost, and of self-abandonment to sensuality, to busy themselves in all uncleanness with greedy

—how unlike your lessons in the school of Christ!—
(2) *Positive.* Put off the old self and put on the new.

indulgence. But such was not the lesson you had in 20
Christ—if indeed He it was you listened to, He in whom 21
you were taught the truth, as embodied in Jesus. For 22
this bids you put off—previous behaviour and all—that
earlier self, which ever goes from bad to worse, led by
the lusts which beguile; and be renewed in the principle 23
which rules within, and to put on the newer self, moulded 24
after God's image in the uprightness and holiness which
that truth enjoins.

BRIEF PRECEPTS against
(1) *Falsehood,*
(2) *Anger,*
(3) *Theft,*
(4) *Foul language,*
(as offending the Holy Spirit),
(5) *All forms of unkindness.* Their opposites inculcated, viewing

So then, drop falsehood and speak truth between man 25
and man, as being members one of another: let not the 26
sun set on your fit of passion, for that gives the Devil his 27
opportunity. Let the thief thieve no longer, but rather 28
betake himself to honest industry, that he may have to
impart to any in need. Never let a word which bears a 29
taint escape your lips, but only such as tends to edify
when wanted, and bring a blessing to the hearers; and so 30
abstain from vexing the Holy Spirit of God Whose seal
was set upon you against the day of your redemption.
Away with all asperity, wrath and anger, brawling and 31
reviling with every form of ill-nature; and cultivate 32
mutual kindness and tender feeling, forgiving one another,
even as God in Christ forgave you.

God's perfect love, and Christ's self-devotion, as our standards.

5 So become imitators of His perfections as His be- 1
loved children; and walk in love, even as Christ loved 2
us and gave Himself up for us, as an oblation and victim
on our behalf, carrying the perfume of acceptance.

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3 But as for fornication and all impurity or covetous-
ness, let them not be so much as named among you, as
4 unbecoming saints; so with indecency, flippant talk, prurient jests—all of them out of keeping; but let your spirits
5 find vent rather in thankfulness. For make up your mind to this, that every fornicator, or impure or covetous man (who is a sort of idolater), has no inheritance in the king-
6 dom of Christ and of God. Let no one mislead you with empty phrases; for these are the very things which
7 bring down God's anger on the sons of disobedience. Beware then of sharing their practices.

(6) *Sins of impurity* —banish their names—

avoid witty indecency, and study thankfulness.

These things cast out from God's kingdom, and cause men to lie under God's wrath.

8 Once no doubt you were all dark within, now you are
9 all light in the Lord. Behave then as children of light (for that light has its fruit in all goodness and uprightness
10 and truth), showing your approval of what the Lord de-
11 lights in. And have nothing in common with the baneful works of darkness—nay, rather show up their real char-
12 acter; for their secret proceedings are too foul to be men-
13 tioned. Be sure that all things thus shown up stand by contrast in a clearer light; and in fact every such exposure
14 is a new light upon them: therefore, says some one, "Rouse thee, thou sleeper, and start up from the dead in sin, and Christ shall throw His light upon thee."

EXHORTATION.

Children of light should walk as such and show its fruits,

and detect by its contrast the works of darkness;

This duty illustrated by a quotation, perhaps from a Christian hymn.

15 Look well then to your behaviour, that it be strict, not
16 as heedless but as heedful of duty; improving every oppor-
17 tunity as it arises, for the times abound with evil. Therefore don't give way to thoughtlessness, but have a sense of
18 what the Lord requires. And don't drench yourselves with wine, wherein is moral ruin, but be saturated with
19 the Spirit; holding mutual converse in psalms and hymns and devotional strains, with song and music in the heart
20 to the Lord. Never omit thanksgiving on behalf of all in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to God the Father,
21 being submissive to one another in the fear of Christ;

PRACTICAL CAUTIONS against

(1) *Heedlessness*,

(2) *Drunkenness*;

EXHORTATIONS.

Let the Spirit fill you with heart-melody and thankfulness;

leading to mutual deference.

22 You wives, for instance, to your husbands, as to the
23 Lord; because the husband is head of the wife, as Christ also is Head of the Church—Himself the Saviour of that
24 Body saved by Him. But just as the Church submits Her-

Such deference due in special relations of

(1) *Wife to husband*,

founded on the relation of the

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Church to Christ.

(2) *Husband* to *wife*, founded on Christ's love *to* the Church, shown in His self-sacrifice, and His sanctification of Her, and glorifying Her in holiness.

self to Christ, so should also wives to their husbands in
everything. You husbands love your wives, even as Christ 25
also loved His Church and gave Himself up for Her, that 26
He might sanctify Her, after purifying Her by the water-
bath of baptism with its attendant form of words; and so 27
might Himself present to Himself His Church in all Her
glory, without spot or wrinkle or the like, but that Her
holiness might be without a flaw.

Christ's love to the Church teaches husbands to love their wives: for the principle of Self-love is repeated in conjugal love, which is founded upon our closeness of incorporation in Christ. Gen. ii. 24.

Out of this mystical relation springs the individual duty of conjugal love and reverence.

Men thus ought to love their own wives as their own 28
bodies. He that loveth His own wife loveth Himself.
For no one ever yet hated his own flesh, but nurtures 29
and fosters it, even as Christ does to the Church;
because we are members of His Body, moulded of His 30
flesh and of His bones. "For this cause shall a man for- 31
sake father and mother and cling to his wife, and they
twain shall be one flesh." This mystery of the marriage- 32
tie is great; and though I refer what I now say to Christ
and the Church, still let each of you individually so love 33
his own wife as he loves himself, and let the wife see that
she reverence her husband.

(3) *Children to Parents.*

(Fifth Commandment quoted).

Converse duty of fathers.

6 YOU children, obey your parents in the Lord, for this 1
is your duty; and the first commandment with a promise 2
annexed is, "Honour thy father and thy mother, that it 3
may be well with thee, and thou shall be long lived in the
land." And you, fathers, don't exasperate your children, 4
but bring them up in the school and precepts of the Lord.

(4) *Slaves to Masters*, as to Christ Himself,

sure that loyal service will bring its due reward.

Converse duty of masters. Over all is one Lord.

You slaves, obey your earthly masters with trembling 5
eagerness of duty, in sincerity of heart, as you would obey
Christ Himself; not with eye-service as men-pleasers, but 6
as Christ's slaves should, doing with heart and soul what
God requires, rendering loyal service, as it were to the 7
Lord and not to men; being sure that whatever good any 8
one does, that shall he have requited from the Lord, be he
slave or be he free. And you masters, behave to them in 9
the same spirit, not indulging in that threatening way,
being sure that you too have a Lord Paramount in heaven,
and that there is no favoured class with Him.

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10 I would only add, draw for your strength upon the
11 Lord and His omnipotent might. Put on the whole armour of God, that you may be able to stand firm against
12 the wiles of the devil. Because with us the struggle is not against flesh and blood, but against Princedoms and Potentates who wield and marshal this dark world—the spiritual
13 agents of wickedness sphered above us. This is why you must take up the whole armour of God, that you may be enabled to make a stand in the day of evil, and after
14 overthrowing them all, to keep your post still. Keep it therefore, belted round the waist with truth, cased in the
15 breastplate of uprightness, shod with that sure foothold,
16 the Gospel of peace; mounting over all the shield of faith, to enable you to quench all the darts of the Evil One,
17 fire-tipped though they be. Assume too the helmet of
18 salvation, and that Spirit-sword, God's own word. Sustain your prayer and entreaty, always praying in spirit, and on the alert for this purpose, with unflagging perseverance of
19 entreaty for all the saints; and on my behalf too, that I may have the gift of utterance, with open mouth and
20 unreservedly to make known the Gospel-secret (for which, though its ambassador, I wear a chain), that I may plead boldly for it, as I ought to do.

CONCLUDING COUNSELS RESPECTING THE CHRISTIAN WARFARE.

Make God's strength, God's armour, yours.

War against spiritual powers.

Put on the armour (1) *to resist assaults*, (2) *to keep your post*.

Put on each piece of this armour, viz.:— (1) *Truth*, (2) *Uprightness*, (3) *Peace*, (4) *Faith*, (5) *Salvation*, (6) *The Spirit-sword*.

I charge you to sustain prayer.

I request your intercession on behalf of my evangelistic mission.

21 But that you in turn may know all about me and how I fare, Tychicus, our beloved brother and faithful minister
22 in the Lord, will let you know all details. And for this very reason I now send him to you, that you may know our circumstances, and that he may cheer up your spirits.

MISSION OF TYCHICUS.

Tychicus (who brings this) will let you know all about myself.

23 Peace to the brethren and love attend their faith, from
24 God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ. May grace attend on all who love our Lord Jesus Christ without alloy.

CLOSING BENEDICTION.

HENRY HAYMAN.

*Note.*—Certain features of evidence, both of early MSS. and internal character, suggest that this Epistle may have been a circular intended for the Church-group of which Ephesus was the chief centre, nearly corresponding with that group of "Seven" addressed Rev. i. 4 foll. Thus a latitude like that *expressed* in 2 Cor. i. 1, "With all the saints that are *in all Achaia*," may be *implied* in Eph. i. 1.



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# THE "INEBRIATE" PROBLEM.

Of all the troubles which afflict the world, the State, and the Church, none can compare with drunkenness. This giant evil overtops them all. It is, too, the prolific parent of nearly all the others. Drink fills our prisons, crowds our police courts, contributes a large proportion of the accused at our tribunals of bankruptcy and divorce. To drinking we owe the greater part of our workhouse and casual ward population, as well as the most of our enormous expenditure on pauperism. The cases of disease among us would be only about one-third of their present number but for alcoholic excess, and our annual mortality would be markedly diminished were we a nation of nephalists. Probably not less than 40,000 die prematurely in the United Kingdom every year from the effects of their own indulgence; while double that number succumb to poverty, starvation, accident, violence, or disease springing from the intemperance of others. No place is safe from the ravages of the alcoholic destroyer. The hearth is polluted, and virtue is sapped; the sanctuary is defiled, and by intoxication the light of many a brilliant pulpit ornament has been sadly dimmed. No other habit has so hindered our national progress, so stained our character as a people, so impaired the usefulness of the Christian Church.

The mischief flowing from drinking habits is not limited to our day and generation. More terrible than all the other lamentable fruits of alcohol poisoning is the increasing operation of the constantly accumulating narcotic inheritance. As we now suffer more severely than did our forefathers from the depressive influences of alcoholic heredity, in like manner will our successors in the battle of life suffer more seriously than we. As physical features are often handed down—witness the Judaic face, so are the drink crave and the drink



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impulse themselves; so are the various bodily degenerations; so are the complex and multiform brain and nerve degradations begotten of narcomania, that dread disease, which is a veritable madness for intoxication. What is the outlook for those who will come after us? On the one hand, their overpowering narcomaniacal craving for narcotic gratification will be more intense, their susceptibility to the benumbing influence of narcotic drugs will be more delicate; and on the other their moral control will be weaker, they will have less power to resist the increased force of temptation to the Lethe of inebriation. All these hereditary factors operating to the greater liability of our descendants to inebriate indulgence will be aggravated by the undoubted increasing prevalence of intemperance among our women and children, the last of truly fearful import from a worldly as well as a religious point of view.

### REMEDIES ALREADY TRIED.

Attempt after attempt has been made to cope with this great and growing evil. Several hundred special Acts of Parliament attest the efforts of the Legislature. The magnificent temperance movement, of which the trophies in the shape of brands plucked from the burning have of themselves been ample justification, witnesses to the strong desire of the patriotic and the religious to abate the plague. The powers that be have tried innumerable plans to reform the drunkard and lessen drunkenness. They have put the sot in the pillory, for the populace to pelt him with rotten eggs. They have placed him in the stocks, as a spectacle for scorn and contumely. They have put a beer barrel on him, and set him, like our latter-day "sandwich men," to perambulate the streets with head and arms emerging from his wooden cuirass, for the mockery and reproach of the idle and the curious. They have driven him forth to sweep the highways in mud and snow, which probably they fondly hoped would "cool his coppers." They have ducked him (and especially her) in cool waters, jerking the culprit, unresisting because made fast to a chair attached to a pulley, up in the air and down through the cold depths till he felt

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as if the very life had been frozen out of him. They have whipped and beaten him to a jelly, almost beyond recognition. They have adopted these and many other modes of rough and ready correction, but all such corrective experiments have egregiously failed, except perhaps Charlemagne's sharp remedy of killing, which certainly put an end to the accused's drunkenness by putting an end to his life.

Beside these heroic measures, our modern treatment of the drunkard appears tame and mild. English jurisprudence contents itself with a penalty of say "five shillings and costs," with the alternative of a few days' incarceration. Even this procedure is subject to modification. On the local authorities the apparent drunkenness of a town depends, much more than on the actual intemperance of the inhabitants. In some places the ruling powers are strict. There the cases are very numerous. In other localities the watch committee is lenient. In these places there are apparently very few drunkards. Indeed, there are communities in which a turn of the magisterial screw has all the appearance of suddenly changing the drinking habits of the residents. This attenuated and somewhat eccentric treatment has proved no more successful than the older and severer method. Under our present system, the innocent are punished. The head of a family, dependent on his wages for their daily bread, is fined or imprisoned. In either case, the family are punished more than he. If sent to prison, he is not allowed to starve, but, on the contrary, is fairly and healthily fed. So much so, that a short term by enforced abstinence from poison, and by nourishing food, only puts him straight, and capacitates him for, on his discharge, a vigorous renewal of his potations. The innocent wife and children are the real victims. Their resources are stopped, the police-court drunkard rarely having savings. Starvation and want are their lot. The injustice of such a penal process is as glaring as the process is ineffectual. Fine and imprisonment can no more reform a drunkard than they can cure a palsy.

All these plans of treatment have been based on the belief —a belief as perilous as it is unsound—that only the badly-

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disposed become drunken; that drunkenness is but a vice, a sin, and a crime. Strange to say, among those who most stoutly contend that intemperance is not a disease, and is simply the fruit of depravity of heart, are to be found those who most loudly proclaim the alleged efficacy of quack, and other "cures" and "specifics," in creating an aversion from strong drink. Such belie their faith. If they really believe that drinking is a moral vice, they cannot believe that any purely physical talisman can remedy the mischief or destroy the propensity. Yet the vaunted perfect cure by material substances has been persistently claimed by good and godly men.

The latest physical temperance fad is a striking illustration. An excellent religious journal recently stated that the injection under the skin of one-fortieth of a grain of strychnine was a simple and safe remedy which was declared to have been an effectual destroyer of the drink crave, so powerful that, after one administration, a rooted loathing for alcohol was, like the emergence of Semele from the thigh of Jupiter, forthwith born. Wondrous discovery! Verily the wisdom of the ancients and the wisdom of the moderns must have been sadly at fault, not to have found out long ago that one prick of a hollow needle and the hypodermic injection of an appreciable dose of a virulent poison would not only render future drinking of intoxicants loathsome, but actually be an antidote to alcohol, and prevent any mental or moral mischief if, notwithstanding the infallible prophylactic, alcohol by any chance should thereafter be swallowed. Such a discovery would, of course, bring to an untimely end the promising career of the Church of England Temperance Society, for all that would be needful to prevent any future taste for, or evil result of, strong drink, would be the arming of every adult with a hypodermic syringe, and a few charges of strychnine, so that any person exhibiting the slightest suspicion of intoxication might be at once secured against all possible harm. In short, if there were any truth in the alleged virtue of strychnine, a new and compulsory vaccination of every human being with this potent poison would avert alcoholic disaster for the future. The only

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drawback to such a non-alcoholic millennium would be an occasional death from an overdose of the deadly remedy. Need I say that the belief in these miraculous virtues of this poisonous potion is but a delusion. Unhappily, though not unexpectedly, alcohol *habitués* have already begun to press strychnia into their service. Some are carrying "pocket pistols, of preparations of this dangerous substance in the guise of confections, set forth to be effectual against "dipsomania." Others have armed themselves with a hypodermic syringe and a store of strychnine charges, and are becoming adepts at this latest form of medicinal self-administration.

Various other articles have been proclaimed as specifics from time to time. Kola nut (*sterculia acuminata*), for example, was held out to be an infallible prevention of narcomania. It was gravely announced—and a number of testimonials were cited in support—that workmen who indulged in a generous and steaming basin of Kola infusion, invariably preserved their sobriety unimpaired, though bearing their part in a night's drinking. Not many years have passed since a wonderful tale of thousands of the worst drunkards, in an American city with no spotless reputation for temperance, having been in a twinkling transformed into models of sobriety, was wafted from across the Atlantic. Acquainted with the locality, besides knowing a little about the disease of inebriety, I was not taken in by this plausible romance; but a goodly number of Christian and temperance workers received the narrative with implicit faith. A searching inquiry revealed the fact that no drunkard in Chicago had been reclaimed by that agency, but that, on the contrary, not a few reformed inebriates had relapsed through partaking of the so-called infallible cure. This magic talisman was a strong spirituous preparation of red cinchona bark.

I have not yet heard of any alleged cure of drunkenness having been effected—as I was once solemnly informed by a learned professor in Ireland he had thus been completely cured of a severe and prolonged attack of rheumatism—by the swallowing of some cabalistic and illegible words written after sundry incantations by a "wise woman." But there is a

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good time coming, and this cabalistic "cure" would be not a whit more instantaneous and miraculous than some of the alleged infallible specifics to which reference has just been made.

Apart from the marvellous cures believed by the credulous to have been wrought by physical charms, as wondrous results have been blazoned forth as having been effected by purely mental or moral agency. The hypnotic and faith cures are types of these. A very few cases of inebriety have been reported as having yielded to what is now called hypnotism, or treatment by suggestion, though this is simply our old friend mesmerism with a new name. The record of these alleged cures is by no means convincing of the efficacy of this expedient. In one case the seances were continued twice weekly for seven months, with a few months' abstinence thereafter at the date of the report. Indeed, all the cases so treated have been too recent to prove the reality of cure. The *modus operandi* of the remedy seems discredited by the record as furnished by the operator. It is claimed that while in a hypnotised or mesmerised state, the mind of the subject experimented upon is favourably disposed to receive and act upon the suggestions of the mesmeric experimenter. If this theory be sound, the sobering suggestion must be comparatively ineffective if it last for only three days or so, when a fresh suggestion to carry the patient safely on for three days more is required. Were, however, the treatment of drunkenness successful by this method, the process itself is unjustifiable. For if the hypnotised can be influenced for sobriety, he can be equally influenced for insobriety; if he can be impressed *nolens volens* for good, he can be impressed in like manner for evil. The exercise of such a power for evil over any human being seems to me utterly without warrant either from Scripture, science, or common-sense. Better that drunkenness should decimate our ranks than that our thoughts, passions, and actions should be under the control of a frail fellow-mortal. Such a terrible power ought to be wielded by no fallible sinner. Better drunken liberty than sober slavery. So fearful is the possible mischief which a practised mesmeriser might, if the theory of this mode of

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treatment be true, entail upon the body and soul of his hypnotees, that the Christian Church ought to set its face like a flint against all such unlawful devices at the professed amelioration or reformation of the drunkard.

The faith cure is another broken reed based on an imperfect conception of the true character and causes of diseased drunkenness. The expulsive power of a new affection is often of infinite value in aiding the reformation of the intemperate, as in the reforming of all bad and sinful habits, in the purification of the heart and of the desires. In cases in which any vicious indulgence is delighted in from purely moral depravity, the influences of morality and religion are our only real hope of better things. Even when the improper habit is the result largely or wholly of a diseased and perverted organism, the purifying, strengthening and ennobling influence of the Christian faith is of incalculable importance as a strengthener of the palsied will, and an invigorator of the enfeebled moral control. In the treatment of insanity and of inebriety, there is no mental or moral tonic comparable to true and intelligent religious conviction. Reliance on aid from on High is a tower of strength, alike in the despair of ill-health and in the exaltation of good health. Many an apparently dying sufferer, at the very gate of death to human vision, have I seen reanimated and recalled to life by the courageous effort at existence born of a perfect trustfulness in the All-wise Father, and an indomitable determination to live for God and for human-kind. Many a fainting spirit have I seen succumb to a comparatively weak attack of disease for lack of Christian fortitude and pluck.

What I mean by the "faith cure" is the employment of moral and religious agencies to the exclusion of all attempts at the physical treatment of the diseased intemperate. This thing (intemperance) goeth not out but by prayer and fasting. The body must be cared for, while the soul is not neglected. Yet in both public and private efforts at the reformation of the drunken, I have again and again seen no means resorted to but rebuke and punishment, preaching and prayer. In one case the heroine of more than a hundred and fifty terms

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of imprisonment for drunkenness was paraded in public as saved and reformed. Just so long as she was constantly watched and guarded by abstaining friends did she remain firm and sober. But as soon as the human means of withholding the liquor was withdrawn, the "reformed" one was prostrated by her besetting sin, and forthwith was once more incarcerated for her wonted offence against the law of the land. This poor woman was as clearly under the dominion of a disease as was another in a northern city, of whom it is recorded that, from the greater part of her life having been spent in jail for drunkenness, and offences connected therewith, whenever she, in the brief intervals of her freedom, wandered past the prison of her district, she was invariably heard unwittingly to warble, "Home, sweet home." In one institution conducted on the principle of "the faith cure," so strong was the belief in the supreme efficacy of purely spiritual agency, and so rooted was the disinclination to see any physical affection requiring a physical remedy, that an allowance of intoxicating liquor was regularly put upon the table for each patient at the three chief meals of the day. There are continually coming before me cases of inebriate addiction for a long series of years, members of the learned professions, as well as active workers among the poor, who have run the gauntlet of religious and moral efforts of every kind, who have taken and broken the teetotal pledge times without number, who have been claimed as converts by religious organisations, and yet have been as uninfluenced, except during the excitement of the moment, as "the impassive ice on which the lightning plays." In several large cities were worn ribbons significant of professed abstinence, and more abstaining pledges were taken than there were inhabitants. Yet the number of public-houses and the extent of drunkenness have undergone little apparent change. I have seen hundreds and thousands of nephalian ribbons distributed and enthusiastically worn for a time, but in less than a year thereafter the licensed traps for the sale of strong drink, and the criminal offences resulting therefrom, I have found as numerous as ever. In one populous city, where no less than

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28,000 temperance ribbons were dealt out, the opponents of temperance legislation outvoted the supporters of Sunday Closing at a public meeting held within six months of the ribbon issue. I have seen a wave of temperance roll over a community, leaving little more permanent impression on the general drunken habits than if the vows had been written on sand on the sea-shore. Temperance hysterics do not avail to build up an abiding temperance reformation. Reliance on moral and religious means alone, even if the morality and religion is presented in an intelligent and unexceptionable form, is defective as a remedial measure for the cure of indulgence, which is often largely, if not wholly, the outcome of a physical disease. Individuals, whose will-power has not been completely palsied, have been here and there reclaimed from inebriate indulgence, but little impression has been made on the seething mass of grovelling intoxication, which practically has defied the most strenuous and conscientious assaults of the Christian and the sober.

### REASON OF PAST NON-SUCCESS.

Wherein has lain the practical failure of all these well-meant and honest attempts at the eradication and amelioration of the terrible load of intemperance under which we as a nation and as a church so sadly groan? The shortcoming has been in a defective conception of the mischief to be remedied. There was a time when madness, elder sister of drunkenness, was believed to be a divine punishment for sin, a righteous penalty for a breach of the moral law. Then the insane were treated with only harshness, imprisonment, torture, and death. When the madman was not denounced as an abandoned sinner, a reprobate deserving of no pity, but meriting reprimand and disgrace, he was regarded as possessed of a devil. In either case, he was subjected to such cruelties as would now bring imprisonment to the perpetrator. At one time the lunatic was chained in a dungeon like a wild beast, bread and water, with an occasional chunk of coarse meat, was thrown at him from a safe distance; unshorn and unclothed

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he had to wallow in filth and dirt. At another time he was taken into the open, and for successive days and nights was exposed to the raging elements, while cold water was continuously showered on his shivering frame, with a frequent variety in the shape of severe floggings. If he survived this heroic treatment, he was cured. All this was done in good faith to drive the devil out of him. Now all is changed. The unsound of mind are no longer the pariahs of humanity, are no longer accounted as outcasts and felons of the deepest dye. We do not even regard them as under demoniac possession. Tenderly and lovingly we care for the mentally weak. Science has shown that insanity is a disease—a departure from health, which merits no ecclesiastical censure or moral reproof, except in so far as, like other diseases, it is the legitimate issue of the non-observance of the laws of health, physical health, mental health. The afflicted in mind are relegated to the care of the physician; are, when necessary, restrained to protect them against their diseased selves, as well as for the protection of others, and are carefully treated medically, with a view to the restoration of sound health. The happy result of this improved and scientific method of treatment is, that no inconsiderable proportion of cures are effected, and that there has been a marked amelioration in the lot of the incurable. The former failure in dealing with mental alienation arose from an imperfect and mistaken idea of insanity. The present success is due to the knowledge that insanity is not a vice, a crime, or a sin, but a disease.

So has it been with drunkards. While good has been done in many cases of intoxication by faithful spiritual dealing, and by various intellectual and elevating agencies, though only a moral depravity has been acknowledged, the labour of love among the intemperate, and their punishment as criminals, have been to a great extent a practical failure. Individuals have been reformed in considerable numbers by the operation of moral and religious influences, especially when combined with the efforts of abstainers; but notwithstanding the magnificent spoils of nephalism, a huge mass of alcoholic excess has remained which has defied the most resolute

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attempts at reformation. Of the literally enormous concourse of drunkards who have taken the teetotal pledge, the great majority have fallen back into their former unhappy ways, numbers having taken this pledge hundreds of times. I have had under my care men and women who have again and again been claimed as converts to abstinence and to godliness, who have in these occasional lucid intervals done good service for temperance and for religion, but who have as often relapsed into intemperance. It is usual, even among Christian people, to stigmatise such backsliders as hypocrites, but the accusation is a slander. Straightforward and sincere in their desperate and determined struggle to lead a sober and godly life, these weak brothers and sisters have been mastered by a dominating physical disorder as real and as powerful in action as are the morbid overpowering impulses of insanity. Here we have the secret of the failure of most of our moral, religious and legislative endeavours at the emancipation of the drunken from their awesome and degrading bondage, compared to which the Egyptian slavery of old was perfect liberty.

Many drunkards are drunken because they are mad, not mad because they are drunken. In them the habit of excess has been a symptom of brain disorder. Their cure cannot be effected until the preceding cerebral ill-health has been remedied. A variety of states of the brain may give rise to narcotic indulgence. If this diseased condition be functional a permanent cure may be looked for. If organic, the hope of cure is faint, but much can be done to lessen and mitigate the drunken bouts. Our police-court drunkards, especially the "repeaters" who have been convicted of drunkenness, or some offence connected therewith, for perhaps hundreds of times, are generally examples of a morbid impulse akin to the criminal impulse of some forms of epileptic mania. In about one-half of our drunkards there has been a history of narcotic heredity. In other words, a moiety of our intemperate population has been ushered into the world of temptation handicapped by an innate tendency to intoxication. Another inheritance, the neurotic, often operates to engender an unhealthful and very strong drink-impulse, and to induce a

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defective moral control which is less able to resist the morbidly aggravated liability to excess. Intemperance has as physical an origin in a considerable proportion of persons whose brain and nerve centres have been literally poisoned by the alcoholic drink which they have regularly consumed for a long series of years, not necessarily to what is commonly regarded as excess. Alcohol is a powerful disturber, disorganiser, and paralyser. Its action on the human body is, in all appreciable doses, a progressive paralysis. By its insidious paralysant influence the will-power is frequently as surely broken down, as is the office of the liver by alcoholic physical tissue-degradation, or the heart's function by alcoholic circulatory perturbation. The American was physiologically accurate when he said, "When I take a glass of whisky I am another man, and that other man wants a glass too."

Our jurisprudence has also been the occasion of not a little injustice to persons charged with having committed crime while in a state of intoxication. Men and women of good general character, apart from drinking, have been condemned for serious offences, though they, on recovering from their debauch, had no more remembrance of the criminal offence than they had any criminal intention, or even knowledge of the commission of the crime. In one case a young man was sentenced to death for a murder committed under a delusion similar to delusions which I have observed in patients under the influence of narcotics. In another case, a man was executed for a capital offence, though he was an inebriate, and had long been a prey to insane delusions begotten of strong drink. Weekly I see persons sent to prison, with the result that their criminal propensities have been fostered because they have been punished as criminals instead of treated as diseased individuals, with mind confused, morals depraved, perception clouded through alcohol.

## SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM.

The truth is that drunkenness, in a very large proportion of cases, is either a disease, or the effect of disease. As there

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is a disease called insanity, so there is a disease which may justly be called inebriety; or, more accurately, narcomania—a malady of the higher nerve-centres, characterised by a dominating impulse to, or crave for, intoxication. The unhealthy desire is not for liquor for its own sake, but for immediate, if temporary, relief of the intolerable agony of the diseased inebriate, which any kind of anæsthetic narcotic undoubtedly supplies for the moment. Our drunkenness is mostly alcoholic, simply because alcohol is the most readily available intoxicant in the United Kingdom. Indulgence, however, in chloral, opium, chlorodyne, ether, and other narcotics, is steadily gaining ground among us.

The recognition of a physical aspect of the drink question is the key to the solution of the "Inebriate" Problem. If the young were taught in all our schools the nature and properties of alcohol, there would be good ground for hope that a truer and more correct knowledge of the extent and causes of the intemperance which we all deplore would permeate the British people. The great truth which we must master is that inebriety is a true disease, a veritable madness for intoxication, an ungovernable mania for the Lethe of narcotic oblivion. Once this great central truth is grasped, its recognition will come upon us like a revelation. Light will be thrown upon the dark places of our festering heap of poverty, crime, violence, and premature death. The unwisdom and unfairness of our present unrighteous legislation in forcing upon the community the fearful incubus of licensed public temptations to easy indulgence in a paralysing, intelligence-poisoning anæsthetic will be manifest. Rescue-work will be more effective and encouraging. The prospect of cure will be infinitely brighter to the inebriate. Every effort at the improvement of the health, the morality, the prosperity, and the happiness of the people will be strengthened. The Church of the living God, emancipated from all narcotic defilement, once again bearing aloft the unsullied banner of Him who cared no less for the body than for the spirit of man, will reap a harvest of human souls of which in her present environment she has no conception.

NORMAN KERR.

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# CURRENT POINTS AT ISSUE:

## AGNOSTICISM.

EVERY parent is in honour bound to safeguard the reputation of his own offspring; it is, therefore, only natural that Professor Huxley should be at all times ready to ward off attacks on his beloved "Agnosticism"—the "invention" of his intellectual maturity, and the solace of his later years. His latest rush to the rescue is found in the current number of *The Nineteenth Century*, where he runs a tilt against the utterances of Dr. Wace at the late Church Congress, and at the paper of Mr. Harrison in the January number of *The Fortnightly Review*. With the Positivist we are not here concerned; nor are we anxious to assist Dr. Wace to defend himself, as no man requires such assistance less than he; but we wish in all courtesy to examine very slightly a few of the positions of both combatants, in so far as they bear on the general controversy, as both seem right, and both seem wrong.

The chief objections of the Professor are based on the following quotation from Dr. Wace:—"But if this be so, for a man to urge, as an escape from this article of belief, that he has no means of a scientific knowledge of the unseen world, or of the future, is irrelevant. His difference from us lies not in the fact that he has no knowledge of these things, but that he does not believe the autnority on which they are stated. He may prefer to call himself an Agnostic, but his real name is an older one—he is an Infidel; that is to say, an unbeliever. The word infidel, perhaps, carries an unpleasant significance. Perhaps it is right that it should. It is, and it ought to be, an unpleasant thing for a man to have to say plainly that he does not believe in Jesus Christ."

Dr. Wace here defines with great precision the position of the agnostic, which Professor Huxley seems strangely to mis-



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understand; for he asks the question, "Are there any Christians who say that they know nothing about the unseen world and the future?" We answer, Yes; all Christians say so when they say, "I believe," for belief is not knowledge. Our belief may be erroneous, but not so our knowledge. As Dr. Wace rightly puts it, the difference between the Christian and the agnostic lies, not in the region of knowledge, but in that of belief. In point of fact, all men are gnostics within the limits of consciousness, or knowledge; and all men beyond these limits are agnostics. The whole confusion on this subject has arisen from the disregard of this simple but most important distinction. What we know we *know*, and there cannot be any doubt about it; what we do not know we believe, or disbelieve, on evidence presented to us. The term agnostic, consequently, as generally used, is a mischievous confuser of thought, and we shall gladly oblige the Professor by calling it "miscreant." He has done much to help us to think clearly, and for this we owe him thanks; but for the "invention" of this unfortunate term "agnostic" we owe him less than none. The right name, therefore, for one who does not believe what we believe, is—Infidel. The Mohammedan has the same right to call the Christian "infidel," that the Christian has to call the Mohammedan by that name.

If we are ever to know what we are talking about, we must be more accurate in the use of our terms, and employ only those that convey an exact meaning, and whose *differentiae* are well marked. We would, therefore, in all seriousness, and not "in the name of all that is Hibernian," ask Professor Huxley to cremate his baby "Agnosticism," and call himself by the honest name—Infidel. By this we do not mean a name of reproach, but the expression of an undeniable fact—that the man so called does not believe in the faith of the country in which he lives. Why should there be any reproach in this? Many a man has nobler reasons for disbelieving in the creed of his country than another has for saying he believes. The honour or dishonour is found, not in the fact, but in the reason of it. The Professor is rather severe on the Principal for stating that "it ought to be an

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unpleasant thing for a man to have to say plainly that he does not believe in Jesus Christ." Dr. Wace wrote this in the fulness of his Christian convictions and emotions, and, in one sense, it must be unpleasant for an earnest man to be out of touch on so great a question with the overwhelming majority of the truest and best of his countrymen; not only because it breaks the harmony of their mental life, but also because it must suggest the often wonder, whether, after all, they may be right, and he be wrong. Still we must echo the words of our critic: "It ought *not* to be unpleasant to say that which one honestly believes or disbelieves." We are well assured that Dr. Wace has here misrepresented himself, for he would be the last to say otherwise, or for one moment allow unpleasantness to bar the way of duty.

Professor Huxley very frankly tells us the origin of the term "agnostic," and with that little bit of autobiography most thinkers will heartily sympathise. He says: "It came into my head as suggestively antithetic to the 'gnostic' of Church history, who professed to know so much about the very things of which I was ignorant." In this he was perfectly correct, for he did not know these things; and so he was, in fact, an agnostic; but neither did the others *know* them, and so they were, in fact, agnostics also, although they called themselves by a wrong name. Literally, all *believers* in Christianity are agnostics, though all agnostics are not believers.

The Professor properly, throughout his paper, treats the question as one of testimony and credibility, that is, of belief or unbelief, and therefore both gnosticism and agnosticism are out of court, and the article ought to have been headed "Unbelief." Our friend's notions of the value of testimony, and the nature of credibility, seem somewhat peculiar, but these points we leave to Dr. Wace. Meantime, it is most heartily to be wished that some harmony of difference might be discovered by which a man so cultured, so earnest, and so honest as Professor Huxley, might be welcomed by all cultured, earnest, and honest men as a brother student in the great universe of thought. He states the foundation principle of the agnostic to be, "Try all things; hold fast that which is



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good;" and as this is also the foundation principle of Christianity, the two, in so far as they are logical, cannot be so far apart, at least in thought. What then both have to try, in loving brotherhood, is this: Which is the best, or most scientific solution of all the facts of human, and all other nature, intelligence or non-intelligence, God or chance, Christ or chaos?

## POSITIVISM.

Mr. F. Harrison claims the lion's share of personal notice in the February Magazines. The pages of *The Nineteenth* are almost ablaze with the scorn heaped on his devoted head by the fiery Huxley. In *The Contemporary*, he claims attention on his own account by his reply to the Duke of Argyll on the Irish question; while Earl Nelson deals with that portion of his annual address to Positivists, in which he appeals to Christianity to do what it can to remedy the social evils of the time. Mr. Harrison grants that "Christianity has a power over the moral lives of individuals, but refuses to see in it any influences for good in dealing with the pressing social questions of the day;" and yet he appeals to Christianity to at least begin to deal with them. Lord Nelson, however, rightly shows that, when Mr. Harrison admits that Christianity has a power over the moral life of individual men, he yields the whole point in contention. "For it is a logical conclusion that, as the life of the nation is made up of individual lives, the power which can affect the moral lives of individuals must, in the long run, influence the nation." The thought is pressed upon us that, in the present divided state of Christendom, the religious zeal stimulated by these very divisions has taken a selfish and unloving turn. A most important question here arises, "how far our different views on Church Government and on the Sacraments, which are very great though capable of much modification, hinder the clear duty of united action against social evils." There can be no doubt whatever that Christendom would be better than it is were it not for these wretched antagonisms, for such the divisions practically become. The

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moral improvement of mankind is surely a work worthy of greatest effort and noblest self-denial. To make men better men we ought to forget our differences and remember alone our affinities in Christ. We ought to do our best for the restoration of complete human unity in the Man, Christ Jesus. The Earl rightly says that "the acceptance of this Catholic and charitable view need not check our earnest advocacy of what we believe to be the will of Christ in His ordinary workings, though it will enlarge our hearts to all who show the fruits of the Spirit." Practically, however, how is this union to be promoted? He asks "whether a council could not be formed in every town or district, and, at some future time, a central council, to meet in London, of wise, sound, large-hearted men, chosen by each denomination as their representatives. These should meet regularly in friendly conference, studying earnestly, in the light of the revealed will of God, the intricate problems of society; exploring the accessible, but often remote and concealed, sources of human evil; and then guiding and systematising the various institutions for good, so that they could more effectually forward the common work in a co-ordinate way, and without any jealous interferences with each other, and then bring the full power of united Christian effort and example to deal more effectually with our many social evils." Beyond all controversy, the suggestion is worthy of all praise, but it is to be feared that, as yet, there are many difficulties in the way; too much of churchiness in the churches, and too little of Christ, in all the incomparable grandeur of His work and words. The bright era has however dawned, the light is breaking, missions of mercy are extending on all sides. Christians are responding nobly to the appeals of suffering humanity, and the work will yet be done, but by Christianity alone. We heartily echo the words of Huxley on this subject, "But that the incongruous mixture of bad science with eviscerated Papistry, out of which Comte manufactured the Positivist religion, will be the heir of the Christian Ages, I have too much respect for the humanity of the future to believe."

JAMES MACCANN.

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# CURRENT LITERATURE.

*The Least of all Lands* (1). Unlike too many books of travel there is a distinct purpose, to which the writer steadily and praiseworthily adheres. He tries to promote a better understanding of the topography and history of Palestine. There are some useful and well-executed sectional maps and plans, and much of the letterpress marks the writer as a man of natural and acquired powers of observation. But a casual visit to the Holy Land is not enough to enable the most skilled traveller to obtain accurate and reliable information upon disputed points. With a certain nonchalance the author informs the reader that "when I visited Palestine last year, I had no thought of writing a book about it." Yet he expresses surprise at the thoughtlessness of the statement by the late Dean Stanley who, be it remembered, had several years of special preparatory study before he traversed the same ground under peculiarly favourable circumstances. Modesty, especially in respect to the Holy Land, becomes casual travellers. The book in parts may be read with profit, and furnishes side-lights to Scripture truth.

THOSE who have it in their power to visit Egypt, and to see for themselves the charm of the Nile, the beauty of its table-lands and deserts, the ruins of temples and tombs, we advise to put into their carpet-bags, together with Murray's *Handbook*, Canon Bell's *Winter on the Nile* (2). Those not so fortunate as to spare the time or money for such a trip, will find this attractive book a capital companion while studying stereoscopic views of Egypt. This country should be more studied, because it is second to none in interest, on account both of its wonderful history and its close connection with so many instances in Bible story.

(1) *The Least of all Lands:* Seven Chapters on the Topography of Palestine in relation to its History. By William Miller. Blackie & Son, 1888.

(2) *A Winter on the Nile in Egypt and in Nubia.* By the Rev. Charles D. Bell, D.D. Hodder & Stoughton, 1888.



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STEP by step, with dogged persistency, Prebendary Reynolds follows upon the heels of the scientists, and shows that nature and the laws of nature, as yet understood, do not justify a single scientific argument against religion. Besides the facts and even the theories of scientists, when examined in a scientific manner, though not of course proving the statements and principles contained in the Holy Scriptures, yet are quite in harmony with them. Mystery or the supernatural is found to pervade all nature, and to force itself upon the observation of every student who does not drop his scientific methods, by which he originally obtained his scientific results, when he considers its relation to the written Word. The contest which the Prebendary had to wage with the scientists has not always been sufficiently understood by even well-intentioned and practised critics. His works are not text-books of Christian evidence, written on a painfully precise plan. One main governing purpose, nevertheless, pervades the whole work. The writer does not sit down in the professor's chair and simply instruct his readers, but he follows the materialist scientists of all orders through their hyrcynian wood, and conducts them to the true centre, which is the common meeting-ground of religion and science. The apparent or real want of order in the constructive parts of the work (3) are due to the labyrinths in which his opponents are perpetually losing themselves, and from which the Prebendary, as their true though sometimes cruelly candid friend, endeavours to conduct them to the highroad of truth. Special incidental advantages of the work are numerous. The opening up an entirely new field of Christian inquiry furnishes some splendid illustrations of the Divine Majesty, checks the deification of matter or human reason, and also supplies motives to adoring love, which tends to man's highest development. Another collateral advantage of Prebendary Reynolds' labours is to teach the devout believer, especially if not an advanced student, to hold his judgment in suspense, and not to be hurried hither and thither by the passing currents and eddies of modern theories, before skilled and competent writers like our author put them to the test. No one can carefully read his works without the conviction that science, properly pursued, is no other than an ally to Christianity.

(3) *The Supernatural in Nature: A Verification, by free use of Science.* By Joseph William Reynolds, M.A., Rector of St. Anne and St. Agnes, with St. John Zachary, Prebendary of St. Paul's Cathedral. Third Edition. Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1888. 14s.

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THERE is certainly abundant room for Professeur Gretillat's *Exposé de Théologie Systématique*, the second instalment of which lies on our table (4). The first volume, *Méthodique*, was issued in 1885. The author has decided to postpone the second, *Apologétique et Canonique*, until he has completed the *Dogmatique*, one moiety of which constitutes the volume before us. It contains "Prolégomènes de la Dogmatique," *i.e.*, definitions, methods, history, etc.; "Théologie Spéciale," which is limited to discussions concerning the Being and Nature of God as revealed in the two Testaments; and "Cosmologie," which treats not only of the creation of the world and man, but of the nature of angels, fallen and unfallen, of the fate of man, of providential government, and, first and foremost, "de la prédestination ou de la Prothèse divine." This arrangement differs from those commonly adopted by British theologians, but it is clearly logical, and enables us to study the doctrine of fore-knowledge and fore-ordination in a much calmer and more philosophical atmosphere than is often the case. Representing the evangelical orthodoxy of the French Reformed Churches, M. Gretillat adopts strictly Calvinistic principles. He puts them earnestly, but with a stringency that is almost out of date this side of the Channel.

Throughout the volume we have been impressed with the crispness and terseness of the divisions, and the lucidity and exactness of the definitions. M. Gretillat faces the scientific and moral problems raised by his subjects with rare courage and skill. His discourse of Providence, though comparatively brief, is full and very suggestive. The book has close upon 700 pages and a considerable quantity of small type, but there is scarcely a wasted line or word. As far as the method and general treatment go, this may be called a model treatise on systematic theology, worthy to stand side by side by the standard authority of American and, to a scarcely less degree, English Presbyterian Churches—the *Systematic Theology* of Dr. Hodge. M. Gretillat is less comprehensive than Dr. Hodge in his exhibition and examination of doctrines which he rejects; he rivals the American theologian in careful exposition of the Scriptures; but his great merit is the thoroughness and skilfulness with which he places himself *en rapport* with the thought and tendencies of the time, and yet preserves his reverence for and deference to Holy Writ.

(4) *Exposé de Théologie Systématique.* Par A. Gretillat, Professeur de Théologie à la Faculté Indépendante de Neuchâtel. Tome Troisième, Neuchâtel: Attinger Frères. 1888.

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It is highly creditable to Dr. Wordsworth, Bishop of St. Andrews, in his *Outlines of the Christian Ministry*, and to Dr. Witherow in *The Form of the Christian Temple* (5) that the differences between Episcopacy and Presbyterianism are discussed in such an admirable and able manner, with a view to their removal and adjustment. It would indeed be idle, now that both systems have deeply struck so many roots into society, that either one or the other should be absorbed. But both may be stripped of much that is hurtful, and both may return to more scriptural positions; both may learn to make less of accidents and more of essentials; and thus be drawn into closer spiritual bonds of fellowship. Nothing else but good can result from such a scholarly discussion of Church Polity.

The threefold divisions of Dr. Witherow's work—"Temporary Agents," "Divine and Permanent Elements," and "Human Additions," are exceedingly clear; but the first is a point which many might fairly challenge. The agencies named are Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, and Charisms. Strictly speaking, the first of these are agents, and the latter, properly speaking, is an agency. It must be borne in mind in this matter that the claims of Episcopacy rest upon the fact that some only of the offices of the Apostles were temporary, and that, in process of time, without any ecclesiastical revolution, certain offices, such as ordination and confirmation, were usually restricted to the Bishops, and not allowed to be performed without their intervention.

The book, independently of the particular question of Episcopacy or Presbyterianism, contains an immense amount of valuable information and sound Scriptural teaching upon Church Polity, and affords excellent weapons against sacerdotal encroachments upon the rights of the laity, and upholds the importance of Church rule against modern representatives of Montanus.

The style as well as the spirit in which this learned Treatise upon Ecclesiastical Polity is written merits high praise. Few, if any living Presbyterian divine, could have performed so difficult and delicate a task with more tact and judgment, or popularised without injuring an important question. This work will establish Dr. Witherow's reputation as one of the leading authorities upon ecclesiastical history, when viewed in the light of Scripture.

(5) *The Form of the Christian Temple:* being a Treatise on the Constitution of the New Testament Church. By Thomas Witherow, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Church History in Magee College, Londonderry. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street. 1889. Price 10s. 6d.

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SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY doubtless once received too exclusive attention; to-day it is too much neglected, if not despised. Hence to a great extent may be traced a loss of power in the pulpit. The maudlin sentimentality, unhealthy excitement and unbecoming effeminacy in churches, are due to a wretchedly weak and thin theological diet. Few possibly, when once in the full rush of present-day activities, can secure the requisite leisure for investigating for themselves religious questions, through Patristic, Mediæval, Puritan and Caroline periods of literature. Hence earnest-minded but busy men, as well as regular theological students, should be thankful for the services of the Roosevelt Professor, as a guide through the range of theology by the nearest cuts, consistently with safe traveling (6). The lines are well laid down. All branches of dogma are grouped around its principal subjects, viz., GOD, MAN (it ought to have been "*His creatures*, viz., angels and men"); the GOD-MAN, His Person and Work (possibly there should have been added *The Church*). In the scheme presented there is no natural place for Angelology and Hagiography. As religion, philosophy and science meet in *Theologica Polemica*, it is rightly regarded as an appendix to theology. Again, there is no mistaking the standpoint of the writer. The general type of doctrine is the Augustino-Calvinistic, and it even differs from that of the general run of contemporary treatises by resembling the elder Calvinism rather than the later. The Traducian theory, too, of the origin of the soul, is elaborately maintained, and perhaps gives a tincture to the whole work. Still, whether the theological position be questioned, or in part only be accepted, the reader will find abstruse and knotty questions fairly handled in a powerful and remarkably perspicuous manner; while those who stand by the old as contrasted with modern thought need not be ashamed of their champion. The weakness, for instance, of the Evolutionist theory, as a rival to the Bible account of Creation, has rarely been so strikingly exhibited within a moderate compass, as in chapter VIII. The chief charm of the book is the reducing to a minimum the difficulty and dulness connected with many problems, complex in themselves or rendered so by controversalists.

Dr. Shedd possesses the art and the genius which enables him to express the truths which profound thinkers either saw indistinctly themselves, or were unable by mental exhaustion, or some defect in their mode of thought or training, to present in a straightforward and simple manner.

(6) *Dogmatic Theology*. By William G. T. Shedd, D.D., Roosevelt Professor of Systematic Theology in Union Theological Seminary, New York. 2 vols. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1889. Price 25s.

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## PARTIAL EXEGESIS.

PROBABLY all human exposition of Holy Scripture is one-sided. If the Bible be indeed God's Word, it is hard to see how this can be otherwise. "We know in part, and we prophesy in part." Until "that which is perfect is come," that which is partial and one-sided cannot pass away.

Modern divines would readily allow the one-sidedness of those expositions of Scripture which were accepted in former days. But perhaps we hardly admit our own partiality of vision to the same extent. It is only another illustration of the mote and the beam.

No doubt I shall myself exemplify the same parable before I have done. There is no escape for him who ventures to find fault. But, as a one-sided and partial student, I desire to improve, and would not willingly ignore anything of which I ought to take note. Having made this confession I venture to charge the received divinity of the day with great one-sidedness in the treatment of Holy Scripture, and I proceed to establish the charge.

It appears to me that far too much time and thought are



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expended in the endeavour to dissect the human authorship of separate books of the Bible; and that its organic unity is too persistently overlooked. Our forefathers may have been too prone to interpret passages in one writer by passages in another, without allowing for differences of use and style. But this is no reason why we should err in the opposite extreme.

At present the chief end of critical exegesis of Scripture seems to be to place the reader in the exact standpoint of the writer. Really to do this is impossible. Only by the most exact and careful study of antiquity can we make any approximation to the mental position and the surroundings of men, the last of whom wrote some eighteen centuries ago; and the first, some fifteen centuries earlier still. If certainty as to the meaning of Holy Scripture can only be obtained by reverting to the condition of its human authors, we must simply wait for the resurrection of the dead. But is this the best way to reach the meaning? The very persons who pursue the search most ardently are the first to tell us that it is not. When we ask them for the spiritual teaching of that which they have dissected, they are as helpless as ourselves. We are in the case described by Isaiah (ch. xxix. 11, &c.), with but slight difference. "The vision of all has become unto you as the words of a book that is sealed." Deliver it to the learned, and after all their critical analysis, when asked to give *the meaning*, they say, "I cannot, for it is sealed." But if the rest of us are asked to interpret it, without the aid of historical criticism, we are expected to say, "I am not learned." The critics too often reject the received Christian interpretation. We, in turn, reject their verbal dissection. Between us both, what are the multitude of plain and simple folk to do?

I cannot but feel that the destructive one-sidedness of modern criticism is largely responsible for this state of things. And in particular I refer to the practice of resting the authority and interpretation of Scripture on the human authorship; and making the authorship itself depend almost entirely upon the vocabulary of the books.

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Yet even the vocabulary itself is but partially examined. And when the evidence furnished by the vocabulary happens to point in the conservative direction, the vocabulary is at once abandoned, and the argument transferred to the style. One familiar instance (not perhaps of any vital importance in itself) is furnished by the epistle to the Hebrews. To maintain the Pauline authorship of that epistle in the present day, is to confess oneself an ignoramus. But on what grounds? If the discussion proceeds on the evidence of the vocabulary, the Pauline authorship is established beyond all dispute. I need only refer to the learned introduction to that epistle in the "Speaker's Commentary." The proof is exhaustive, but it is still repeated that the epistle was not written by St. Paul. If we ask, Why not? we are told the style is not his. One might venture to reply, Show me the the non-Pauline style, after deducting the Pauline arguments and the Pauline vocabulary. We should wait long enough for an answer to the request. In the end it must come to this, that the style is not precisely that of St. Paul's other epistles. In other words, a member of the Sanhedrin, and an Hebrew of the Hebrews, the passion of whose life it was to convert his countrymen, is expected to write to them in the same style in which he was wont to address certain Gentile churches, whose knowledge of Scripture and revealed religion was a thing of yesterday! How *could* the style be the same, if the writer were a man of any grasp or education? He was, in fact, a person of remarkable versatility. Personally, I believe the chief reason why men deny that St. Paul wrote the epistle is that one or two prominent writers have spoken contemptuously of that view. It does not look well to set up one's own opinion against theirs, whom all sermondom and the press worshippeth. "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!"

The real difficulties lie rather in the question, If St. Paul wrote the epistle, when, where, and to what Church was it written? These are matters worthy of patient discussion. It would be beside the point were I to discuss them now. They are by no means inexplicable. And if we cannot solve

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these difficulties by the somewhat scanty records of St. Paul's life in the New Testament, there is certainly no other life which touches them at all. Apart from St. Paul, the few personal touches in the epistle are left isolated, with no earthly bearing whatever. Reject the Pauline authorship, and besides destroying all exact exegesis of St. Peter's allusion to an epistle by St. Paul *not written to Gentiles* (2 Peter iii. 15), you have absolutely no alternative in its place. All other claims to have written the epistle can only pile conjecture on conjecture, without a scrap of *evidence* of any kind.

I am reminded at this point that there are expressions common to this epistle and St. Luke, found nowhere else in the Greek Testament. So there are expressions common to St. Luke and St. Paul's other epistles. But it is utterly illogical to maintain St. Luke's authorship, as opposed to St. Paul, on such slender grounds as these. The coincidences between St. Luke and Hebrews may be counted by tens at most, the coincidences between St. Paul and Hebrews by hundreds; therefore, it is more likely that St. Luke wrote to the Hebrews, than that St. Paul did! What sort of reasoning is this? But the same generation which is expected to receive this reasoning has also been burdened with a book to prove that St. Paul was the author of the Acts and the Third Gospel. Of course the evidence is the same; namely, the verbal coincidences between St. Paul and St. Luke.

Behold, then, a syllogism furnished by modern arguments from the use of language. On the ground of similarity of language, St. Luke is the author of the epistle to the Hebrews. But, on the same ground, St. Paul is the author of the two writings universally ascribed to St. Luke. Therefore, St. Paul must also be the author of the epistle to the Hebrews. In other words, St. Paul is only another name for St Luke!

The contemplation of reasonings like this, where the premises of the argument are *published books*, supposed to be put forth in all earnestness and sobriety, may well make us

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ask what is the real value of this modern reasoning from style and language, and whither is it likely to lead? If it can yield such absurdities when applied to the New Testament, of which most of us know something; how can we trust it with the Old Testament, where, beyond the Sunday lessons, few people know anything at all?

Not long ago, I heard an argument on the book of Judges in relation to the Pentateuch. The argument was constructed to prove,—I am really not sure what, *positively;* but *negatively*, —that the relation between Judges and the preceding books is anything but what it professes to be on the face of the narrative. But the only proofs were drawn from these parts of the book which touch the question of *worship*. The Pentateuch, or, at least, Deuteronomy, ordains a single place of sacrifice. In Judges, sacrifices are accepted at Bochim, at Ophrah, and at the place of Samson's birth. The same book makes mention of Baalim and Ashtaroth, which Deuteronomy does not name, and so on. Therefore, the loose practices of Israel, as described in Judges, are wholly incompatible with the view that the strict legislation of the Deuteronomy was then extant. All the way through, the argument was based upon one limited set of words concerning religious worship. Nothing else was allowed a place in the evidence at all. I do not think there was any intentional unfairness, or reluctance to be convinced; but the more I think of it, the more I am impressed with the intense *one-sidedness* of the whole method. Why should the broad features of the history of Israel be so entirely overlooked in discussing the relation between their legislation and their national life?

Take a parallel from our own times. Look at our colonies. It not unfrequently happens that men whose early days have been spent in the Christian atmosphere of this favoured country, and in homes where the religious observances are even Puritanically strict, find themselves in the thinly-inhabited districts,—I might say, trackless wastes,—of some new country. What becomes of the Sunday, of the church-going and Bible-reading, or even of the prayers? Suppose one were to write the history of some half-dozen colonial

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families, or groups of settlers, whose grandfathers were rigid Scotch Presbyterians or simple English country folk, and compare it with the prescribed rules of daily life observed by the preceding generation in the old country; what sort of parallel would be furnished by the two? Would it be reasonable to argue from the actual life of the colonial grandchildren, that the religion of the grand-parents could only be the development of a later and more civilized age?

It seems to me to be forgotten in this kind of comparison between Deuteronomy and the later history, that the Israel of the Exodus lay, so to say, under the shadow of a single hand. The area of a second-rate English city would have comprised them all. Their organization was perfect; their government centralized and strong; the Divine presence openly manifested; at least, this is the picture which contemporary records have presented to our view. Every transgression and disobedience received condign punishment at once. There was no difficulty in this. But two generations later this small handful of people, or, rather, their grand-children, were dispersed over the whole of Palestine,—a country, I will not say partially civilized, but very partially cleared. The very seat of Joshua's government was seriously menaced by wild beasts as much as *seven centuries later* (2 Kings xvii. 24, 25).

Now, what should we naturally expect under such a condition of affairs? What *could* we expect but a relapse into something like barbarism? Without churches or schools, or anything that could be called education; a few persons, who were supposed to teach, scattered in forty-eight places at uneven distances throughout the country, themselves colonists like the rest; with numerous idols and shrines still standing, and idolatrous worship continued by the natives in every part; what else *could* happen in the nature of things, *except* a loss of the religion of Sinai and of Moses' life? It would have been a moral miracle had it happened otherwise.

What else is the actual record of the book of Judges, taken as it stands? The seed sown in Canaan, sparsely and sparingly, is at first choked by the rank vegetation of the half-cultivated wild. But when it begins to spring up here and

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there, what appearance does it present? However imperfect and poor the crop may be, it always recalls the features of the original plant. It is not a new religion that meets us; but vague recollections of the old religion. Single precepts are pushed to extremities, as the extermination of the idolaters, like Eglon and his followers, or Sisera, or the inhabitants of Laish; but *not* the considerate immunity of the rest of the Deuteronomic code. In the war of Benjamin, the harsher features of the Mosaic legislation are reproduced to the letter. But the religion of Micah,—"Now I know that the Lord will do me good, seeing I have a Levite to my priest,"—is just the vague recollection that we should expect in a matter of the kind.

Now, why is this historical and moral *vraisemblance* to be ignored, while minute verbal differences between the practice of Judges and the legislation of the Pentateuch are pressed, as though they could override every other consideration? Is not this one-sided and partial exegesis?

No less one-sided is the accepted modern theory of what people call "the book Genesis." The beautiful ground-plan of the work furnished by the "eleven generations" of which it is composed receives no consideration. To this I can testify, having repeatedly called attention to it in the course of the last twenty years, but with no result, except where I could teach it in the lecture-room. The word "generations" itself critics take no pains to interpret. Whereas, if it received half the attention that Asherah, or Bamoth, or Chushan-rishathaim have had bestowed upon them, it would tell a very plain and yet a most interesting tale. Instead of this, the Jahvist and Elohist alone are listened to.

The best constructed portion of the Old Testament is described as the result of patchwork, and candidates for Orders are examined as to the effect upon divinity if the early part were Chaldæan legends sifted by Abraham through a monotheistic sieve (a fact).

I have before me an interesting example of the absurdities resulting from the Jahvist and Elohist theories, when applied to the narrative of the flood.

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The writer of a certain Old Testament handbook has presented the narrative, in Genesis vi. 5 to ix. 17, in two parallel columns. On the left hand he has placed those portions which are characterized by the mention of the name JEHOVAH. On the right he places the other verses, where God is called ELOHIM. This column he calls Elohistic; the other he terms Jahvistic. They are supposed to be by different authors. Some editor has combined them into one.

A hint supplied by the late Dean Burgon, in his treatise on the Pastoral Office, long ago set me upon the task of examining the dates in the flood by the light of the Jewish calendar of twelve lunar months. The result cannot possibly be accidental. Every one knows that in certain places of that narrative, the *weekly* division of time appears. In other places the *day of the month* is given, and the year of Noah's life. By an intelligible conjecture, the writer of these tables of Elohistic and Jahvistic fragments has assigned all the week-dates to one writer, and all the month-dates to another. Thus:—

| JAHVISTIC. | ELOHISTIC. |
|---|---|
| "Yet seven days and I will cause it to rain."—Gen. vii. 4. | "In the 600th year of Noah's life, in the 2nd month, the 17th day."—Gen. vii. 11. |
| "After seven days."—vii. 10. | "In the 7th month on the 17th day."—viii. 3. |
| "Yet other seven days."—viii. 10. | "In the 10th month on the 1st day."—viii. 5. |
| "Yet other seven days."—viii. 12. | "In the 601st year, in the 1st month, the 1st day."—viii. 14. |
| Also, "At the end of 40 days."—viii. 6. | "In the 2nd month, the 27th day."—viii. 14. |

As soon as I saw that the narrative of the flood had been dissected in this fashion, I suspected what the result would be; but I confess I did not think the thing would have been done to suit *my* purpose so exactly as it has been. The Elohistic *month-dates* referred to are all *seventh days* according to the weekly reckoning furnished by the other column; as the following table will show.

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NOAH'S 600TH YEAR. TABLE OF SEVENTH DAYS. NOAH'S 601ST YEAR.

| Months, 2nd. | 3rd | 4th | 5th | 6th | 7th | 8th | 9th | 10th | 11th | 12th | 1st | 2nd |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | 2 | 7 | 6 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 7 | 5 | 4 | 2 | [1] | 6 |
| [10] | 9 | 14 | 13 | 11 | 10 | 8 | 14 | 12 | [11] | 9 | 8 | 13 |
| [17] | 16 | 21 | 20 | 18 | [17] | 15 | 21 | 19 | [18] | 16 | 15 | 20 |
| 24 | 23 | 28 | 27 | 25 | 24 | 22 | 28 | 26 | [25] | 23 | 22 | [27] |
| ... | 30 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 29 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 29 | ... |
| 29 days | 30 days | 29 days | 30 days | 29 days | 30 days | 29 days | 30 days | 29 days | 30 days | 29 days | 30 days | 29 days |

The figures in [ ] are referred to in Scripture.

According to the Elohistic and Jahvistic analysis, the fact that the rain began "after seven days" is Jahvistic. The fact that it began on the seventeenth day of the second month of Noah's six-hundredth year is Elohistic. Similarly with the subsequent dates, as I have shown above. The *week-dates* are *Jahvistic*, the month-dates *Elohistic*, according to the analysis. Now apply the Jewish calendar as above. The months have alternately thirty and twenty-nine days; and the year being lunar, consists of ($6 \times 30 + 6 \times 29 =$) 354 days. Take the month-date of the commencement of the flood as a *seventh day* (putting the two records together), and proceed to write down all the other seventh days in the year of the flood. These days in the third month will be 2, 9, 16, 23, 30; in the fourth, 7, 14, 21, 28; and so on. In the seventh month they will be 3, 10, 17, 24. Thus *the seventeenth day of the seventh month, on which the ark rested, comes out as a seventh day!*

Again, taking up the so-called Elohistic narrative, we find that on the first day of the tenth month the tops of the mountains were seen. The Jahvistic narrative tells us that after forty days Noah opened his window and sent out two birds. But the fortieth day after the first day of the tenth month is the eleventh day of the eleventh month. Again, our table shows us that this is *one of the seventh days* from the beginning of the flood.

Continuing the same plan, we find that the day on which the Elohist says Noah uncovered the ark, and the day on which he left it, are also *seventh days* from the beginning of the whole catastrophe.

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Now suppose the Elohistic and Jahvistic analysis to be correct, as the critic makes it,—the week-dates Jahvistic, the month-dates Elohistic; the Elohist never once referring to the weeks, and in fact being ignorant of weeks altogether; and the Jahvist never mentioning a month or a year—by what *means has it come to pass that the week-dates of the one narrative coincide with the month-dates of the other*, and *vice versâ?*

The agreement is so striking that if the two narratives had come down to us independently, only a very miracle of exactness could produce such harmony. It is enough to prove the unity of the two witnesses, *supposing them to be two.*

But what are the actual facts? The so-called Jahvistic and Elohistic fragments are actually parts of one book. The Sabbath, on which depend the weeks assigned by our modern critic to the Jahvist, is really *Elohistic* in Gen. ii. 1-3. The month-dates, classed with the Elohistic portions of the narrative of the deluge, bear silent testimony to the same fact. One golden thread, picked out for the first time by a most devout believer in Genesis as the inspired work of *Moses*, is here displayed by a disciple of that believer, as holding every fragment of the narrative together in a single line. The pearls cannot be taken off the one string. It is one string of pearls, not two, that we have in our hands. The argument, moreover, is one of arithmetical agreement, which no fancies about style and language can avail to overthrow. While the Jewish (and I may add the Assyrian) calendar stands on record, the Elohistic and Jahvistic analysis cannot reasonably be applied to the narrative of Noah's flood.

I shall lay myself open to the charge of great assumption by what I am going to say next. My friend Canon Cheyne must really allow me to take an illustration of one-sided exegesis from his interesting work on Isaiah. It is quite too good to be lost. I want to show how linguistic criticism of details sometimes leads a man to ignore those aspects of truth which larger study of Scripture brings to light. The moral is, that to isolate the sacred writers from each other is not the best way to understand them.

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The illustration is taken from Isaiah vi., p. 38, in Canon Cheyne's first volume (edition 1880). In verse 6 he reads, "There flew unto me one of the seraphim, with a *stone* in his hand, which he had taken with the tongs from off the altar." What the *stone* may be, one is so curious to know that one immediately consults the note. It reads thus: "One of the seraphs brings a stone from the never-extinguished fire of the altar of incense." Why "the altar of incense?" one asks. Why "never-extinguished?" Where are we? In "the palace," by verse 1, not "the temple;" and a note informs us that it is "Jehovah's heavenly palace." To find an altar in heaven the learned writer is obliged to cite Rev. viii. 3, ix. 13. Surely Isaiah wrote before St. John! Overlooking the fact that it is there described as "the *golden altar*" (like the "altar of incense" to which he himself has referred,—see Exodus xxx. 1-3, which speaks of shittim-*wood* overlaid with *pure gold*), he writes thus: "*A stone*, for the heavenly altar is formed on the model of the earthly one. [Moses puts it in the opposite way,—Exod. xxvii. 8.] Ewald rightly sees an allusion to the law in the 'Book of the Covenant,' that altars should be constructed of earth, or of unhewn stones (Exodus xx. 25),—a law which evidently arose in the nomadic period *before tools were common.*"

So runs the note. The way in which mistakes are piled on one another is positively bewildering. To begin with the last. *Tools are expressly mentioned and forbidden* in the law referred to: "If thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it." So far as this text proves anything, "evidently" tools were just as common as altars then. Next, "the heavenly altar," *golden* by the testimony of the only places where we hear of it, is built on the model of the earthly one; that is to say, the golden altar of incense is formed on the model of an altar of unhewn stones. And "a stone" is brought from it to the prophet's lips. Why? Because, our note informs us, "Fire is the sacramental sign of moral purification" (Matt. iii. 12, Comp. Num. xxxi. 23). This is excellent doctrine. And if the seraph had brought a coal, "a live coal," as we have been accustomed to read, the exposi-

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tion would be thoroughly appropriate. But *a stone*, a stone from the altar, is all that Canon Cheyne allows us. And on reference to his critical note, we find that whereas Gesenius and others translate the Hebrew word "*ritzpah*" in this place by "*hot stone*," Canon Cheyne takes all the fire out of his exposition by the statement that "*ritzpah* is not necessarily a hot stone," see Esther i. 6, &c. [where it means a *pavement*], and he adds, Vulg. rightly, *calculus*.

So that the golden altar of incense was built of *calculi!* It is more than doubtful whether the *calculus* of the Vulgate in this place has anything whatever to do with the materials of the altar. In ch. xxvii. 9, the word for stones of the altar is *lapides*, Hebrew *abânim*, a very different word. *Calculus* means a *pebble*, a small stone used for voting, a weight. To build an altar of loose *pebbles* is impossible; and to suggest that the altar of incense was a heap of pebbles, is absurd. The effect of a never-extinguished fire on pebbles would be to burst and pulverize them. Having come so far, one is moved to inquire further why the translation "live coal" has been exchanged for "stone" in this place by Canon Cheyne. To understand this we turn to the Hebrew Lexicon and Concordance. In the Concordance we find that the word *ritzpah* appears altogether seven times. Here only, in Isaiah vi. 6, is it associated with fire. Everywhere else,—viz., in Esther i. 6, 2 Chron. vii. 3, and four times in Ezekiel's vision of the temple,—it is translated "*pavement*." All these instances, however, are later than the *exile;* Isaiah's vision is "in the year that King Uzziah died." Parallel to this expression in Isaiah vi. is the only earlier instance we can compare, where the substantive *retzeph* is used in connection with the food prepared for Elijah, a cake *baken on the coals* (1 Kings xix. 6). Instead of coals the revisers give us "hot stones" in their margin, anxious to maintain the connection between the fire and the pavement. Solomon's chariot *paved* (*râtzûph*) with love completes the list.

Thus at least it stands in the *Englishman's* Hebrew Concordance. I must confess to some little surprise when, on turning to Füerst's large Hebrew Concordance, I found

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*ritzpah*, a pavement, and *ritzpah*, a coal, derived from entirely differently roots, spelt with the same letters, but having different etymological affinities.

Why this view should be ignored without notice by a modern scholar, I cannot understand. So far as the requirements of the passages under discussion are concerned, it seems clear that for Elijah's "cake" and Isaiah's lips we need *fire*. The pavement in the other passages may do very well with *stones*. Now there is a word *resheph* compared by Füerst with *ratzaph* (the root of *ritzpah* in Isaiah vi.), that unquestionably bears the required meaning (see Cant. viii. 6). Why should there not be (as Füerst says) a word *ritzpah* with the same meaning as *rispah*, *i.e.*, a live coal; and another word *ritzpah*, meaning a *pavement?* What is the real value of the criticism that insists on giving to two words identical in sound or spelling, the same meaning, in the face of common sense? I have heard a foreigner pronounce *use* and *juice* so that one could not distinguish useless from juiceless; and the two meanings of the Latin *jus* are familiar to every schoolboy. Why, then, are we bound to suppose that the seraph brought to Isaiah's lips a cold paving-stone from the golden altar? Or was it a *calculus* after all?

But is there any reason to suppose the said altar was the *altar of incense?* Is it correct to speak of "the never-extinguished fire" of that altar, in the exposition of the Old Testament? "The fire shall ever be burning," was said of *the altar of burnt offering*, not the altar of incense (Levit. vi. 13). No such thing is said of the *incense altar*. There was no provision for it. Incense was burnt there for a few moments in the morning and evening, a sort of memorial *within* the temple of the burnt offering then offered *without*. But there is nothing whatever to show that the fire was kept up during the interval; in fact, it could not be.

And so far as Isaiah is concerned, he could not have seen the seraph take a stone, or anything else, from the incense altar, for "*the house was*" at that time "*filled with smoke*." Moreover, Isaiah was not, like Ezekiel, a *priest*, to be brought within the temple. It is morally certain that he never saw the altar of incense during his whole life.

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But it was no uncommon thing to take a live coal from the brazen altar, which Isaiah must have constantly seen. Live coals from that altar were used to burn the daily incense, as we learn directly from the Talmud, and indirectly from the rule against strange fire. The purification of Isaiah's lips with a coal from the fire of the burnt sacrifice is a most just and beautiful conception. For the service of that altar was a constant type of His atonement, who "loved us, and gave Himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour." By no other sacrifice could Isaiah's "iniquity be taken away, and his sin purged."

I have exposed the weakness of this piece of exegesis somewhat ruthlessly, because it affords such a perfect example of the failure of purely linguistic considerations, combined with a devout spirit, to explain the Holy Scriptures, unless the expositor also takes account of their general teaching. Six times is the sixth chapter of Isaiah cited in the New Testament. In Canon Cheyne's notes on the chapter there is absolutely no reference to the fact.

Holy Scripture is far more really the work of *one* author than of many scribes; far more one volume than a collection of separate books. It is so far systematic that our thorough knowledge of any individual portion must be in proportion to our grasp of the whole. This is not the case to anything like the same extent with human writings. You can *sample* them. A good slice of Thucydides, or Virgil, or Homer, or Plato, or any ancient classic, will give the reader a very fair notion of what the writer is. There is no very serious risk of misinterpreting the first book of the Republic of Plato, in the fact that you have not yet read the last. Not so with Holy Scripture. You cannot *sample* it. You cannot isolate the prophet Isaiah and make sure of a sound interpretation, while you refuse to consider the law of Moses, or St. Paul's quotations from the book itself. If it be asked, Why not? the answer is no modern one. "For no prophecy of Scripture is of any *private interpretation*. For the prophecy came not in the old time by the will of man. *But Holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.*" C. H. WALLER.

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# THE QUESTION OF INSPIRATION.

It is held by some writers on this subject that the Scriptures do not furnish the materials necessary to the framing of any doctrine in regard to it. One need not be surprised at this, for there are some writers who allege that the Scriptures do not furnish sufficient *data* for framing a definite doctrine on any subject within the analogy of the faith,—if we may speak of faith or analogy in such connection at all. Professor Jowett, for example, in his commentary on Paul's Epistles, considers logic to be out of place in matters of religion. "Definite statements respecting the relation of Christ either to God or man are (he says) but human figures transferred to a subject beyond thought. . . . Mystery is the nearest approach we can make to truth; only by indefiniteness can we avoid putting words in the place of things." He had come much nearer stating a truth if he had said, "Only by indefiniteness can we manage to put words in the place of things."

This theory of doctrinal indefiniteness Professor Jowett applies to the question regarding the reconciliation of the world to God. "We know nothing (he affirms) of the objective act on God's part, by which He reconciled the world unto Himself, the very description of it as an act being only a figure of speech; and we seem to know that we never can know anything. While clinging to the ground of fact, we feel also that there is more in the fact than we see or understand." Certainly, we may well feel this if we can only "know that we never can know anything." If we can never know anything, of course there must be more in the fact contemplated than we can understand. "There is hope and peace (he says) in what we see; yet more as we believe in possibilities of which we are ignorant." How it is that anything of which we can never know anything except that we cannot know anything



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about it, can inspire us with peace or hope, is certainly as mysterious as any doctrine which Professor Jowett rejects because of its mystery.

The fact is, this advocate of doctrinal agnosticism seems to have reached, in his theology, the same state of mental bewilderment at which the Chian sceptic Metrodorus arrived, in his philosophical speculations, when he came to the conclusion that he did not know that he did not know. The principle on which he proceeds is precisely the same, and when applied to the contents of the Bible must land its votaries in the hopeless maze of universal theological scepticism. This goal, or gulf, Professor Jowett has reached in regard to the central doctrine of Christianity, and teaches that we can formulate no theory of the Atonement made by Christ when His soul was made an offering for sin! Isaiah might formulate a doctrine on this subject, 700 years before the offering was made, and John the Baptist might expound it when introducing the atoning victim, but our friends of the New Theology, with all the light of the New Testament Revelation, cannot frame one now!

There is, of course, a difference between rejecting all definite doctrinal statements in matters of religion and rejecting a definite doctrinal statement in regard to a particular subject. However, when the bearing of the subject, in regard to which no definitely formulated theory will be allowed, on all the doctrines of Revelation, is taken into account, the positional difference is greatly modified. He who denies the possibility of formulating a definite doctrinal statement in regard to the relation of the Holy Spirit to the utterance, or record, of the contents of the Bible, does, *ipse facto*, deny the possibility of ascertaining to what extent the sacred writings express the mind of the Spirit. Let the concession be made that the Spirit of God, after informing the agents He employed, left them to the exercise of their own judgments in conveying this information to others, and our faith must rest upon the trustworthiness of these agents. Indeed, we have the open avowal, on the part of those who take exception to definite doctrinal statements on the subject of inspiration,

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that all that was needed in the case of the sacred writers, was that they should be intelligent, honest, faithful men. This is all one with saying that, in the communication of the truths they were commissioned to convey to men inspiration, in any admissible sense of the term, was altogether unnecessary. On this theory the Scriptures are not inspired at all,—the record is not an inspired record, and the infallible accuracy of its report of what was entrusted to its human authors is placed outside the pale of proof, while the faith which assumed its Divine infallibility is shaken to its foundations.

In opposition to all such unworthy conceptions of the Holy Scriptures it is proposed to state, as briefly as possible, the views of inspiration presented in the Bible itself. This is not a very difficult undertaking, for the material is abundant and unequivocal, consisting very largely of the direct testimony of our Saviour and His Apostles.

1. The Old Testament. There is no room left for doubt in regard to Christ's estimate of the writings of Moses and the Prophets. In His sermon on the Mount He informs His auditors of His relation to both, and proclaims their infallibility even to the smallest letter or horn of the record. "Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets; I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil; for verily I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass, one jot, or one tittle, shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled" (Matt. v. 17, 18). In our Saviour's estimate the sacred record, even to its minutest detail, was more stable and enduring than the universe itself.

Equally significant and comprehensive is His testimony (John x. 34-36), in reply to the charge of blasphemy preferred against Him by the Jews, because of His claiming to be the Son of God. "Is it not written in your law, I said, ye are gods? If He called them gods, to whom the word of God came (and the Scripture cannot be broken), say ye of Him, whom the Father hath sanctified, and sent into the world, Thou blasphemest; because I said I am the Son of God?"

This is certainly a very comprehensive testimony. It is a testimony in regard to all that the Jews recognized as Scrip-



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ture. Of all their sacred writings it affirms that they are unbreakable. It will be observed that our Saviour is basing His argument upon the fact that the Scriptures applied the term "gods" to men. The argument, therefore, depended for its cogency and force upon the infallibility of the record in which the expression occurs. To the infallibility of that record He sets to His seal. His argument, cast into logical form, stands thus:

Major: "The Scripture cannot be broken."

Minor: "I said ye are gods," is Scripture.

Conclusion: "I said ye are gods," is an infallibly correct report of a Divine utterance.

Our Lord does not select a sentence out of the Old Testament, and, by His own authority, pronounce it infallibly correct. On the contrary, He argues the infallibility of the clause He selects, from the infallibility of the record in which it occurs. His testimony, therefore, is a testimony to the entire Old Testament as it existed in His days.

Now the only question to be settled is, whether the Scripture to which Christ bore this testimony is the same as that which Protestant Christendom accepts as the Old Testament? This is the sole question, and it admits of no debate. The Old Testament, which Protestants accept as the Word of God, is the same as the Old Testament accepted by the Jews. Our Saviour charged the Jews with making the Word of God void through their traditions, but He never charged them with falsifying the record itself. And as it was up to the time of Christ, so has it been ever since. The Christian Church has never charged the Jews with tampering with, or corrupting their Scriptures. The Jews have wofully failed in their expositions of them, but they have sedulously guarded the sacred oracles against textual corruption. On the other hand, the Jews make no complaint against Protestants regarding their treatment of the Old Testament text. They join with us in a common remonstrance against the Church of Rome for adding to the Old Testament, and treating, as Scripture, the books of the Apocrypha. The Old Testament as handed down to us, therefore, is the same infallible record as that to which our

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Saviour bore testimony as more stable than the fabric of the heavens and the earth, and on which he relied, in the detail of its language, in defending Himself against the gravest charges preferred against Him by His enemies. Whether the adversary were Satan or Satan's servants, He invariably appeals to the Jewish Scriptures, and asserts, or assumes, their infallibility.

No less explicit is the testimony of the Apostles. We find the Apostle Paul (Gal. iii. 15-17) basing an argument in regard to the covenant of redemption upon the distinction between the singular and the plural of a noun. The points embraced in the argument are :—1. Even among men covenants once ratified are held to be binding. 2. God entered into covenant with Abraham and his seed. 3. In the original record of this federal transaction the singular "seed," and not the plural "seeds," was employed. 4. This "seed," to which the promises were made, the Apostle informs us, was Christ. It is manifest that the whole force and validity of the argument must depend upon the assumption that the writer of the record to which the Apostle alludes was Divinely guided in using the singular term "seed," and not the plural "seeds." Equally manifest must be the principle on which this reference is made to the history of God's intercourse with Abraham. The assumption on which the Apostle proceeds is that he is entitled to argue from any portion of the Old Testament Scriptures, including the history of the Patriarchs, and to base his argument upon their minutest verbal distinctions. This position he could not take unless he regarded the entire record as fully, literally, and in all its parts equally inspired.

The opponents of the doctrine that the agency of the Spirit extended to the *form* as well as to the *matter* of the sacred record, to the *language* as well as to the *thought*, endeavour to invalidate the argument based upon this passage. Dr. Farrar, for example, denies that the Apostle could by any possibility, as a Hebraist, and a master of Hellenistic Greek usage, have argued as verbalists allege. The reason he assigns for this allegation is that Paul must have known that the plural of the Hebrew and Greek terms for "seed" is never

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used by Hebrew or Greek writers as a designation of human offspring. In the plural, he says, it means various kinds of grain. To this critique the reply is obvious. 1. Dr. Farrar's estimate of the Apostle's knowledge of Hebrew and Hellenistic Greek is accepted. He was a Hebrew of the Hebrews, and was deeply read in the law and prophets, and well acquainted with Rabinical lore. He was, besides, a citizen by birth "of no mean Greek city," and, as the Roman Captain found out in the castle at Jerusalem, could speak Greek. Moreover, he showed, on the occasion of his visit to Athens, that he was not only able to speak that language, but was able to quote what suited his purpose from the Greek poets. 2. As all this is conceded and accepted, Dr. Farrar may be fairly called upon to say whether a lexicographer, in searching Hellenistic writers for the meanings they were wont to attach to the Greek term σπέρματα, would hesitate, after reading this passage (Gal. iii. 15-17), to enter in his list of meanings "human offspring?" 3. Dr. Farrar may also be asked to tell us whether it would be possible to render the passage so as to make sense, if the meaning he gives to σπέρματα were adopted. The passage would then read as follows: "He saith not to various kinds of grain as of many, but as of one, and to thy grain, which is Christ." In a word, the passage will not yield any intelligible sense if any other meaning than the one rejected by Dr. Farrar be given to σπέρματα; and if the meaning he ascribes to it be accepted, the passage becomes absolutely unintelligible. Granting, then, what we thank no man for granting, that σπέρματα means human offspring, it is claimed that, despite all the assaults of the anti-verbalists, this passage sustains the doctrine of a plenary inspiration; that is, an inspiration extending to the language of the entire sacred record.

This same Apostle bears a similar testimony in his Second Epistle to Timothy, chap. iii. 16, 17. Having reminded his son in the Gospel of his early acquaintance with the sacred writings, which "are able to make wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus," he immediately assigns a reason for their possessing this high prerogative;

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and this reason he finds in the fact that every one of them is (Θεόπνευστος καὶ ὠφέλιμος πρὸς διδασκαλίαν) God-inspired and profitable for teaching, &c. The revisers have rendered this passage as follows: "Every Scripture inspired of God is also profitable for teaching," &c. By this treatment of the passage they have separated two terms descriptive of the qualities of every one of the Scriptures referred to, which are linked together by the *copula* καί. They have inserted the verb "is" after Θεόπνευστος, and have thus thrown it into the subject, and ὠφέλιμος into the predicate. For such separation there is no authority, either grammatical or exegetical. Both these terms, so closely bound together, belong to the same category, and must both be enrolled either as subject or as predicate. As subject they cannot both be treated, for the sentence would then be left without a predicate. No such difficulty will arise if both be embraced in the predicate, as the passage will then read: "Every Scripture is inspired of God, and profitable for teaching," &c.

It cannot be objected to this rendering that it makes the Apostle endorse, as inspired, other writings besides the Jewish Scriptures, for it is of the writings in which Timothy had been instructed from his childhood he is speaking. Of these alone, therefore, can he be regarded as affirming that every one of them is Divinely-breathed, God-inspired.

In favour of this rendering there is the further consideration that the rendering adopted by the revisers is of a most unsettling tendency, as it suggests the possibility of some portions of the Scriptures not being God-inspired, thus throwing upon the student of the Holy Scriptures the responsibility of determining what parts of them are, and what parts are not, the Word of God. Such was certainly not the Apostle's object in pronouncing this eulogium upon the Scriptures in which Timothy had been trained from his earliest years. It would be a singular procedure to proclaim them the fountain of wisdom and salvation, and then insinuate that this was true only of some portions of them. However viewed, therefore, whether grammatically, contextually, or theologically, this passage abides as an Apostolic testimony to the historic faith

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of the Church, that the Scriptures of the Old Testament, in all its parts, are inspired of God.

Nor is it to be conceded that the revisers are justified in substituting for the Authorized Version, "all Scripture," the rendering, "every Scripture." The law of the Greek article fully warrants adherence to the old version, "all Scripture." It is not unfrequent with Greek writers to omit the article where either the substantive has acquired the character of a proper name, or where the context is so clear as to prevent mistake (see Winer's Gram., p. 131). But whether we accept the new, or hold by the old, θεόπνευστος cannot be separated form ὠφέλιμος and thrown into the subject. These two terms are too closely linked together to permit such disjunctive treatment.

Equally explicit is the testimony of the Apostle Peter in both his epistles. In his first epistle (chap. 1. 10-12), we have the following: "Concerning which salvation the prophets sought and searched diligently, who prophesied of the grace that should come unto you; searching what time or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which was in them did point unto, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ, and the glories that should follow them. To whom it was revealed that not unto themselves, but unto you, did they minister these things, which now have been announced unto you through them that preached the Gospel unto you by the Holy Ghost sent forth from heaven; which things angels desire to look into."

Here we have the two great themes of the Old Testament, —"the sufferings of Christ, and the glories that should follow them." These are the outstanding topics of the Jewish Scriptures, as read by the Apostle Peter; and they are just the great facts and features of Moses and the prophets, as expounded by Christ Himself to the two desponding disciples on their way to Emmaus. After rebuking them for their slowness of heart and their unbelief, He points out to them, in the writings of Moses, and all the prophets, and all the Scriptures, the things concerning Himself; and the things He pointed out were His own sufferings and the glory which should follow (Luke xxiv. 25-28).

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Such was the task assigned to all the sacred writers, from Moses to Malachi; and the question raised by the nature of the subject, the darkness of the dispensation, and the confessed ignorance of the men in regard to the import of what they were commissioned to place on record is, what species, or measure, of inspiration would they need to qualify them for the execution of it? Is it not manifest that no agency or action of the Spirit which did not extend to the language could meet the requirements of the case? The men employed confessed the imperfection of their knowledge in regard to the subjects they were moved to commit to writing, asked for further information respecting them, and were denied their request. What reliance, it may well be asked, could be placed in a record produced under such circumstances if the inspiring Spirit, as the Newer Criticism would have us believe, left the writers to the exercise of their own judgment in selecting the terms in which the revelation made to them was to be expressed to others? The response of the Spirit to the earnest inquiry of the agents He was employing, proves that He took upon Himself the whole responsibility of the work in which they were engaged; and that, in the exercise of His sovereign prerogatives, He had the right to determine the amount of information to be communicated at any particular time, and the form into which it should be cast. The men of the Newer Criticism may imagine that all that was needed on the part of the agents was intelligence and fidelity, but common sense says that no amount of intelligence or fidelity will enable a man to write infallibly on subjects beyond his comprehension. Such, certainly, were these subjects. They were elements of an economy designed to make known to principalities and powers in the heavenly places the manifold wisdom of God, subjects which even angels desire to look into. To write consistently or infallibly on such themes, while but partially instructed in regard to them, was a task beyond the capacity of man or angel. "The things of God knoweth no one (οὐδεὶς) save the Spirit of God." There is no authority for limiting the affirmation to man as is done in the authorized version. The context proves that the Apostle means to

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exclude all classes of finite intelligence, whether human or angelic, and to claim for the Holy Spirit alone the knowledge of the mysteries he was commissioned to preach. If the principle here avowed by the Apostle is to rule us in our attempts to formulate a doctrine of inspiration, all theories which leave the record of the Revelation to the human agent's intelligence and fidelity must be discarded.

In his Second Epistle (chap. i. 16-21) this same Apostle bears a most remarkable testimony to the infallibility of the Old Testament Scriptures. After bearing witness to the New Testament Revelation, referring to its authentication by a voice from the excellent glory, on the occasion of the Transfiguration, he does not hesitate to compare with the revelation made by this audible voice the word of prophecy, pronouncing it βεβαιότερον, more durable, assigning as his reason for this verdict that no prophecy of Scripture is of private interpretation; for no prophecy ever came by the will of man, but men (commissioned) from God spake (as) they were moved by the Holy Ghost. The Apostle certainly does not, by this comparison, intend to shake confidence in his own witness-bearing when he "made known the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ." So far is this from being his design, that he refers, in confirmation of it, to the testimony of God the Father, uttered audibly from the excellent glory, to the Sonship and work of His own beloved. This testimony, however, was transient and momentary, passing away with the cloud from which it came forth; and, lest his readers might think that he was relying on this voice as the sole proof of the Divine origin of the Gospel he preached, he refers them to a word that was not transient, but more durable, viz., the word of prophecy, placed on record by men commissioned from God and moved by the Holy Ghost. The term "moved" does not give full expression to the Greek word φερόμενοι. An English reader might think that the Apostle meant simply to teach that the agents were merely moved to begin writing, and were left to the exercise of their own unaided and undirected powers in prosecuting their task. This, however, is not the idea conveyed by the Greek

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term φερόμενοι. It asserts a fact fatal to all theories of inspiration save that which ascribes to the Spirit the language as well as the ideas of the resultant record. This fact is, that the writers were borne along by the Spirit, as a vessel at sea is borne along by the wind. He moved them to begin to write, and he moved them along throughout the entire process. When He moved them to speak or write, they began to speak or write; as long as He moved them, they continued to speak or write; and when He ceased to move them, they ceased to speak or write. In a word, He who alone knows the mind of God took charge of the entire process through which that mind was to be infallibly communicated to mankind. This infallible communication He could effect only through an infallibly correct utterance or record; and to secure this result, it was indispensable that the fallible instrument of human agency should not be left to mar or thwart, by its imperfection, the Divine purpose.

If, then, we accept the testimony of Christ and His Apostles, we must regard the Scriptures of the Old Testament as inspired of God; that is, we must believe that the language of the record was determined by the Holy Ghost. This position is the Ehrenbreitstein, not only of the Old Testament Revelation, but also of the New. The two Testaments must stand or fall together. Apart from the Verbal Inspiration of the Old Testament it is impossible to defend the Citadel of Christianity itself. Within this position, as we have seen, Christ took His stand, as within an impregnable fortress, in all His conflicts with His adversaries. Whether dealing with the arch enemy, or with the Scribes, or Pharisees, or Sadducees, His ultimate appeal was to Moses and the Prophets. In this line of defence He was followed by His Apostles. Both He and they relied upon the verbal accuracy of the Old Testament Scriptures.

Rejecting, therefore, the unhallowed dogmatism of the Newer Criticism, it is to be hoped that the Church, for which the Redeemer gave Himself up that He might sanctify it, having cleansed it by the washing of water with the *word*, will give heed to the authoritative example set by these high precedents.

ROBERT WATTS.

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# THE PROBLEM OF THE WORLDS.

THE grandest achievements of our century are its scientific advances. Startling, comprehensive, beneficent, fascinating, they commanded attention and dominated thought. As one fact after another came into prominence, the claim for verification brought into discredit and denial the principles of Faith: men forgetting that science must know the grounds of Faith's great principle, the confident expectation of things hoped for, before science can deny.

The lessons of history,—that faith, not logic, intelligent faith growing by experience into knowledge, rules the world, —are only just now beginning to have renewed attention. Thought descends once more to the roots of our intellectual growth, and again ascends the heights of speculation; finds everywhere that Faith is a power that conquers, and, as Max Müller says, "conquers even those who think they have conquered it."

We have talked of the credulous vulgar, and of the religious as superstitious; while many yielded to a gross incredulity that indulged the flesh, and flattered the self-conceit which finds it easier to doubt than inquire. Incredulity, passing to atheism, counts it an advantage to be rid of God; easier and pleasanter to think and act without fear of Judgment to come.

Men, afflicted with this atheistic credulity, imagine that they are original thinkers,—a great mistake; they adopt all preceding errors. Their minds, having nothing to confer, find ittle in faith to perceive; and not rising upward to the angel, they soon sink lower than the common level of man. We are not surprised that they are guilty of violence, theft, unclean living; and that their evil principles, descending to the masses, work lawlessness and wrongdoing.

Want of pure principle and morality, the reference of



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everything to self-will and present self-interest, enfeeble intelligence, ingenuousness, and love of truth; lessen intuitiveness of right and aversion to wrong. Not perceiving Divine purpose in the world; nor that the probational character of our present state is to know, to believe, to do; profane persons lose those intellectual aids and that spiritual consciousness which render the demands of faith less severe, and its emulation with science that victory for God which gives to man spiritual guidance, personal and characteristic halo.

We need not further account for those fond efforts, the fussiness of minds perverted from true science, to explain the worlds apart from a Maker. Minds not aware that the height, depth, and extent of conviction in truest Christians, are transformed by manifold experience into knowledge. Christians, like scientific men, go beyond mere physics to make their greatest discoveries. Pure aspirations, lofty anticipations, high feelings Godward, verified by conscious communion with Him, give present possession of those mighty realities which, though beyond the logic of formal proof to other men, are within the experimental grasp of sanctified consciousness.

The hypothesis of evolution accepted, in a modified form, by some religious scientific men as a partial mode of Divine process, is universally hailed by the irreligious as that theory of nature which, logically applied, renders God an impertinence and Holy Scripture a fable. Not the slightest valid argument has been established against our faith; but the splendour of true science is abused by incompetent professors, who vainly resist Moses as did the ancient Egyptian magicians. God, delivering us from the error, is now again giving to the people the use of all their mind; and many see the falsity of those scientific assumptions which endanger faith and set law at naught.

We are not willing to regard the early portion of Genesis, recognized by Jesus, as grossly false; nor to pervert the use of knowledge by allowing that man was not Divinely made in the Divine image; that there was no Fall, and is no

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Redemption; no Judgment to come, nor any Heaven. The Ogs of Basan are not to prevail with a false science, making all students of one measure to lie on their bed. The chilling ascendancy of mistaken theories of the world and of man denotes the absence of highest moral and intellectual qualities, and renders excellence impossible. To be always doubting, denying God, who is highest excellence, and then to spend ourselves in gathering cockle-shells, pebbles, and telling sands on the sea-shores, making a man of beast, and science of a cloud, maddens as Saul was mad, but hardly raises a David with sacred music to quell the evil spirit.

Truth before all things: whatever the cost, follow it to the end. If evolution be the true cosmic principle, accurately and fully explaining the universal problem, accept it. If not, discard it. For our part, we maintain that it is a delusion, the great folly of our day; hypothesis having a form of science, yet denying the power: its conclusions would overthrow those sacred truths which make for man's moral elevation. A correct theory will cover every worldly process, material and immaterial; rationally account for origin, continuance, ending; give an intelligible statement concerning life, sensation, emotion, free-will, responsibility. This evolution does not.

Evolution, as admitted by the chief expounders, is imperfect, gives no explanation of matter nor of force. Atheistic promoters assume that matter and force are eternal; that nature is an ever-changing, yet everlasting compendium of phenomena; that there is, and always was, the same amount of matter and of force—with which can be no interference, Divine or otherwise; that worlds and systems of worlds, death and life, succeed one another as the leaves and trees of a forest; the universe, as a whole, undergoes no loss, and is incapable of decay. These assumptions are unscientific and incapable of truth.

If our statement be inaccurate, opponents may amend it. Meanwhile, we exhibit some of the blunders and impossibilities which prove the unwarrantable nature of the assumptions on which evolution is based.

1. It is a principle of science that all statements be proved.

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In mathematics, a few axioms being accepted, every step afterwards is demonstrated. Theologians are told,—the difference separating religious from scientific teaching is verification, of which science is capable, and theology is not; consequently, science is certainly true; and theology, probably false. We, in reply, challenge any man to prove that life, sensation, thought, are material products; that nature is an everlasting compendium of ever-changing, ever-during phenomena. Proof is impossible; nevertheless men who profess not to accept any unproven thing, base evolution on these unprovable hypotheses, and then require that we give up our God, and accept their little gods. The mania of unbelief cannot go further.

2. Evolution, incapable of proof, is demonstrably false. Science regards the existing state of things as having sprung from a former state in which they did not exist, and with which they had no connection; consequently they could not be evolved from that former state. Life, such as we know, was not possible in the molten state of the earth; nor could it have been brought in by meteoric stones, nor by any merely mechanical process. Further, physical science knows nothing about matter evolving itself from matter, or that which is not matter, except that it is impossible; nor of force from that which is not force; nor of life from that which is not life.

3. Nature is not an everlasting compendium of ever-changing, yet ever-during phenomena. It is certain, so far as anything is certain as known by finite intelligence, that the universe is not for ever and ever the same. Every planet will converge to its sun, and suns burn out, then every force will be diffused. When temperature is everywhere the same, and force everywhere in equilibrium, there could not have been in the past, nor can there be in the future—unless our reason is put to confusion—any differentiation in that temperature, or in that equilibrium; no formation of any universe like that in which we live: except by Eternal Power, who, as the Absolute, is independent of the universe. Evolution, then, does not solve the problem of the worlds. We must dismiss all that is

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scientifically known, if we scientifically accept it; science will oppose science—which is absurd. The original atoms did not evolve the mist, the mist did not evolve the earth, the earth did not evolve man, man did not evolve God.

4. We shall be told—evolution does not profess to explain the origin of worlds. It aims at a scientific explanation of the rise, relationship, and continuance of species. Then, why do these men require God to be given up, and talk of Christianity as exploded? Doubtless, they are honest; but their theory cannot be so limited; even if limited, it is inaccurate, as may be seen.

Does any one actually and precisely know that life primarily originated in dead matter, apart from God, by purely natural process? If not, all the talk is wind, not science. Are we sure that, from the first life, or the many first lives, without any reasonable guidance, grew all existing varieties, and the numberless special individualities? If we do not know, we have no science about it. Research into the past and furthest conducted experiment furnish no instance, nor time, nor arrangement, by or in which life originated apart from previous life—the Divine Life.

Indeed, science shows that no germ, no seed, no adult individual life, exists, or has ever been made, apart from former life; nor does any finite being contain, in itself, all the other beings which are to come after it. We, though Adam was our father, were not contained in him. He was that original which, acted upon by the forces of the universe, passed away: the reproduction of his own likeness was by means of those forces. Creative process gave the power of life, whatever it is, to the earth; and the earth brought forth by what is called organic process; the organic process not making life, but life starting and continuing the organic process by the power of God. Man, a more special life, being more specially formed. All life is from the Great Life, the Divine Life; not from mud, nor any other slime, that we may lie down in it, wallow in it, and call it "god."

To talk of some hypothetical monad evolved from molecules, not knowing what they were about; and of this monad

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not knowing how to do it, evolving from within itself some other monad a little more and a little more unlike itself, until the monad was not itself; and then, this becoming some other thing which became a man,—is not science, but silliness. Burns very well wrote,

> "Oh wad some power the giftie gie us
> To see ourselves as ithers see us,
> It wad frae mony a blunder free us
> And foolish notion."

### SUBSTITUTION, NOT EVOLUTION, PREVAILS.

One atom is not evolved from another atom, but atom takes the place of atom, molecule of molecule, force of force, life of life. The universal process does not bring one thing out of another, as were the first self-made, and the maker of all that follow; but Eternal Power ever and ever replaces the used, the past, by the not used and present, and the present by the future.

Science, in part, traces the process. The ultimate atoms, so small that magnified a thousand times no human eye can see them, are thought to remain, so far as we can trace, unchangeable and unaffected, except as they are acted upon by substitution of other forces. In combination as molecules, and molecules as masses—say one part oxygen and two parts hydrogen in every molecule of water—other properties are conveyed which present, or represent, differences and powers great as those distinguishing water from its constituents. Water, duly heated, becomes steam; and the steam contains force, not latent in the atoms of oxygen and hydrogen, but derived, in part, from the influence which converted the atoms into water, and, in part, from the influence which converted the water into steam. In every transmutation the substituted working force brings its own qualities to produce its own special effects. The things worked upon are made to be a stone, or a tree, or a man, by an energy co-efficient with all the forces and substances of the universe. As to life, inorganic matters being com-

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pounded into bioplasm by some unknown force; the bioplasm by the force called Life is built up, according to speciality of the force, into a nettle, or tree, or mouse, or man. No evolution anywhere: an imparting, or differentiation everywhere, effected by forces coming from the whole universe for every work.

The substance, bioplasm, seems the same; but is really differentiated for every variety of organism, vegetable or animal. Possibly the same particles, though in the same proportions, are made of different shape. If the atoms, or particles, are unchangeable; they, probably, are differently arranged by some speciality of force. This seems likely, every sort of life from lowest to highest, infinite as is the variety, being considered by biologists as a variation of one Divine thought, of one Divine act. Hence the fins of a fish, the paddles of a whale, the wings of a bat, the arms of a man, are different forms or enlargements of one plan. The human embryo is as a worm in its origin and advance; but never a worm, nor fish, nor reptile; and, like a dewdrop, represents the universe; the life of man, a figure of all life, was never any other than its own life. Things and life always remain the same: except as they are acted upon by some new force. Every thing and life, small or great, the moss or the man, is an exhibition in part of one design, of one power. The whole design and the whole power having greatest exemplification in the universe of things visible and things invisible.

If we are not to accept evolution as an explanation of the worlds' problem, can any other principle be proved adequate? To seek is not presumptuous: take up the search.

### THE CHRISTIAN SCHEME OF CREATION.

We start with an axiom. Nature, and whatsoever is in nature, represent Eternal Power.

Our wants, our dangers, our ceaseless desires and efforts for something better,—being in nature, are also representative of something in that Power, and exist because of the Power. When we endeavour to win from nature the keys of strength and wisdom, the strength and the wisdom mirror in our own

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life the strength and the wisdom which make nature what it is. That further intellectual process which apprehends the future, and desires life in it; holiness, and longs for possession of it; not less takes knowledge of the Eternal than does a dewdrop infinitesimally, according to its degree, represent the infinite. We are sure so far, as thought and research carry us, that the forces in the universe acting in the distribution and redistribution of matter, in the passing and renewal of life, in the creative processes of human thought, are unerring indications of creative process by Eternal Power.

Regard the worlds' powers as acting by irresistible energy within a comprehending infinitude. Philosophy shows that the worlds' changes are due to, and only possible by, the Eternally Permanent. The worlds, then, and their changes are an effect by the Permanent working through a succession of causes differentiated in infinitude; so that the finite always depends upon the infinite. The process is not an evolution of the great from the little, of life from no life, of reason from unreason; it is by differentiation, in time and space, for some vast teleological purpose of that Eternal Power who effects all things according to His own Will. If Will did not act with purpose, there might be chaos, not cosmos; there might be continuance, disturbed everywhere, but no rational order; the rational order is proof of Intelligence and Will acting in creation by means of adequate Power.

Whether the Eternal put Himself first into relation with finite spirit, angels, by creation of spirit; or with matter, such as our senses perceive; we do not now ask. Whichever it was, beyond the spirit, beyond the matter, there was He who made and differentiated angel from angel, and matter from matter. The primal force was varied in every force, the primal substance in all the forms and conditions of matter. Hence we have that universal static ability which a finite geometer could neither give nor find; and in which men of science, artists, poets, theologians delight as a display of variety comprehensive by the Infinite only; and a display of that wisdom which, reflected in the reason of man, is a symbol and proof of God in creation.



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The potentialities were not self-existent in the atoms, not in the cloud: all power is of God. That nothing stands by itself, or evolves from itself, is scientifically, is philosophically certain. Everything and every act is by conjoint operation of all that the universe contains, that universe held in the hollow of God's hand. The thoughtful man is now probably able to present—

SOLUTION OF THE WHOLE CREATIVE PROBLEM.

Time was begun at the beginning of creation, and space defines the locality of things. In Time and Space the Eternal differentiated His power in the spirits, substances, forces of the worlds; creating, distributing, and redistributing them.

This gives an approximately intelligent conception of the Absolute bringing Himself into relation with the conditioned, the Eternal with the temporal, the Infinite with the finite, the Omniscient with all things intelligent and unintelligent. The mental understanding and elaboration of it is a reasonable advance towards solution of the worlds' problem.[1] There is not a stone nor fossil unaccounted for. We know why laws are permanent, as due to the Eternal; why they are adapted to further and further conditioning of things; why natural and spiritual purposes ripen in display with the suns. The first page of "the life-dawn animal" and the perfected man who is named with inscription of God, we intelligently read. Cold and heat, summer and winter, the gossamer-winged insect, innumerable forms of tree and flower, in ever-varying, never-ceasing transformation by the Infinite, make Him very near to us. We intelligently, reverently, gladly worship and praise; our religious and moral sense being satisfied.

Thus, we rid ourselves of evolution, that central lie of materialism and atheism which some theologians and Christian men of science have in part unwisely adopted. Nature and revelation are two differentiated editions of works by

[1] The argument is worked out with manifold detail, illustration, and appliance to Christianity in *The Mystery of the Universe.* Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

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which we know the Almighty's will. The two books agree according to the measure of a right understanding, science and philosophy proving themselves children of faith. Differentiation of the energy, put forth by Eternal Power in the forces and substances of the universe dynamically unifies those forces and substances, and is the link between the create and uncreate, the organic and inorganic, science and religion. By it we are able to arrange all principles, first and last; the ultimate secrets of physics, biology, and sociology. We account for the persistence of energy, the diffusion of force, the conservation and disintegration of worlds. We go beyond visible finite forms to the universal. As Christians, our faith in God is not less certain than that in our own bodily substance and personal identity as men. Spiritual truths are inseparable from facts, are the greatest facts. They are shrined in the earliest centuries' evidence, and in the deepest moral convictions of all ages. There is nothing in science to make John and Paul, Athanasius and Ambrose, Augustine and Anselm, Luther and Pascal, Newton and Faraday, stand aside or be silent on the greatest and most ennobling truths. It ought to be a sufficient answer to every caviller,—Jesus Christ lived and died believing in God, by whose power, wisdom, mercy, we have those wonderful differentiations—Creation, Revelation, Redemption.

We wait, it is the genius of patience, for the grand explanation of all things and the reward of life. Our spirit is filled with gladness by the Holy Ghost. We slake our thirst for holiness by communion with the Lord Jesus. The pains of a nature where sin and evil are assure us, nothing being in vain, that the discipline tends to a greater good. The physical process, the mental process, the moral process, are made to convert the natural into a spiritual man, the spiritual man into a Christly man. The worlds' problem will be fully and finally solved when the old worlds differentiated into the new, man stands in those worlds beholding their beauty and, satisfied with his own likeness, speaks to the God who was Incarnate, face to face, heart to heart, as a man speaketh unto a friend.

JOSEPH W. REYNOLDS.

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# THE DÖLLINGER-REUSCH HISTORY
## OF THE INTESTINE CONFLICT ON MORALS IN THE CHURCH OF ROME.

### PART III.

THIS concluding paper we propose to devote to the romantic history of Gonzalez's book. Thrice did he appeal for leave to print. Thrice was he refused by the unanimous advice of the Revisers. He begged to have his book corrected, the substance being preserved, and to have it as so corrected allowed to appear. Not even this would be granted. As professor, now in a higher chair, he published four volumes of *Selectæ Disputationes*, and wished in this work to give a few propositions containing his views upon Probabilism. Revisers and General denied the liberty. He prayed the General to state in a circular that the Society did not recognize as official the doctrine of the Probabilists, but left professors free either to teach it or oppose it. Oliva thought this needless, seeing no decree existed adopting the doctrine as that of the Society. Gonzalez declared that he would consent to the suppression of all his own writings if only in the colleges of the Society it were allowed to teach the Anti-Probabilist doctrine, or if that doctrine were allowed to appear in the books of others.

In 1679 some one in Madrid said to the Nuncio Cardinal Mellini, these lax propositions, now condemned by Innocent XI., or, at least, some of them, are the same against which a professor in Salamanca wrote years ago. The Pope told the Nuncio to send him a copy of the book. The letter of Gonzalez accompanying that copy was, by the Pope, read aloud to several, with praise of the zeal shown by the professor against "the ruinous laxity of opinions by which, to the hurt of souls, our age is diseased." Of two theologians commanded by the Pope to read the manuscript, one, Cardinal Laurea, approved



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of it thoroughly; and the other saying that no Jesuit had ever written anything on the question better, thought it was a pity that some points were not treated with greater particularity. Now came to light the censures and inhibitions which Gonzalez had endured from the Order. Thereupon were the Holy Office and the Collegio Romano set at odds. On June 26, 1680, the Inquisition adopted a protocol directing that the Secretary of State should write to the Nuncio in Spain, informing him that the Pope has favourably received the letter of Father Gonzalez; also that he commands Gonzalez freely and fearlessly to preach More-Probabilism (*Probabiliorismus*, or *opinionem magis probabilem*); to teach it and defend it with his pen, and vigorously to war against the view that it is lawful to follow a less probable opinion, even though we recognize the opposite one as more probable. All that he could do and write in favour of More-Probabilism would be agreeable to His Holiness. So much for the offending professor. Next, as to his superiors. On the Jesuit General it was enjoined not in anywise to permit the Fathers of the Society to write in favour of the Less-Probable opinion, or to combat the view of those who assert that it is not lawful to follow a less probable opinion, if we recognize the opposite opinion as more probable. As to the Universities of the Society, the protocol went on to say, "It is the will of His Holiness that every one shall be free at pleasure to write in support of More-Probabilism, and in opposition to the adverse view. The General shall command them to thoroughly submit themselves to the order of His Holiness."

Twelve days later the Inquisition records that the command of His Holiness has been by the Assessor intimated to the General, who answered that he would at once obey in all points, although it had never, by him or his predecessors, been forbidden to write or teach in favour of the More-Probable opinion.

The General did not obey, is the short and simple record of our authors. He took the course which La Quintinye had told the Pope was a usual one with the Chiefs of the Society, —that is, he kept from the knowledge of his subordinates

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what the Pontiff had commanded, and what he himself had promised. Although at the time Gonzalez filled the "first chair" in Salamanca, it was not till thirteen years afterwards (1693) that the decree of the Inquisition came to his knowledge. Nine years later, still as General, he expressly stated in writing to Clement XI. that the mandate of Innocent XI., as also the decree of the Holy Office, had not been brought to the knowledge of the Society. In a note the Dominican Patuzzi is quoted as saying that a certain circular, partially stating what had taken place, was probably prepared, laid before the Cardinals of the Inquisition, and never sent. Thereupon our authors recall another fact. The Portuguese, Urbano Tossetti, when in Rome writing his *Riflessione*,[1] was allowed by Cardinal Marefoschi the use of certain documents from the archives of the Propaganda. These showed that when Oliva was General the instructions as to rites and ceremonies actually sent to the Jesuits in China were in direct contradiction to those which were placed in the archives.

The Nuncio of Spain requested Gonzalez to print his book. He replied that he was not prepared to do so without leave from his Order. Could not the Pope procure it? That the Pope declined to do. Gonzalez set to work to re-write and expand it. After de Noyelle had succeeded Oliva a fresh application for license to print had no success with the new General. Later Gonzalez was sent up by his Province to Rome as Elector in the general congregation of the Order called to choose a successor to de Noyelle. When, before the election, the Jesuit notables waited on the Pontiff, he received Gonzalez with distinction, and, when they had taken leave, said that they should cast their eye on that man. The desire to recover favour with the Pope so operated that Gonzalez was elected, although only on the third voting, and then only by a majority of ten out of eighty-six.

At his first official audience the Pope said to him, "Thou hast been made General in order to turn back the Society from the precipice down which it seemed ready to plunge by

[1] Published in Lisbon, 1758. Vol. i. p. 129.

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erecting the laxer views into an official doctrine of the Order."[2] The Secretary of State, Cardinal Cybo, asked the new General, with six of the principal officers of the Order, to meet him, and said that he was commissioned by the Pope to tell them that His Holiness wished it might be permitted to the Theologians of the Society to teach from their chairs, and to advocate in their writings the doctrine that we should follow the more probable and safer opinion, not the less probable and less safe. All that Gonzalez succeeded in inducing the General Congregation to do was to pass the following decree: "It having been represented to the Congregation as being by some believed that the Society has taken in hand by common consent to uphold the doctrine of those theologians who teach that we may act upon a less probable opinion favouring freedom, to the setting aside of a more probable one standing by the commandment,[3] the Congregation declares that the Society neither has forbidden, nor does it now forbid, the maintaining of the opposite view by those who hold it as the more correct" (vol. i. p. 134). The Pope had looked for more, Gonzalez had sought for more, yet this was too much for his brethren to pass in good temper. It had the fault of turning into a formal declaration what they had received as a useful private diplomatic formula, the statement, namely, that the view opposed to the one favouring freedom rather than the commandment had never been forbidden *by the Society* as such,—a statement adroitly used by Oliva, and all who acted with him, when privately insisting that no other view should be put forward.

The Pope commanded Gonzalez to bring from Spain to the Collegio Romano a distinguished theologian, there to teach the better doctrine. Probabilism, he said, which the Jesuits

[2] Me factum fuisse generalem in illum finem ut Societatem averterem a præcipitio, in quod ruere videbatur, de amplectenda scilicet ut propria ejusdem Societatis sententia laxiore circa usum opinionum probabilium.—*A Memorial by Gonzalez*, vol. i. p. 132.

[3] Licere sequi opinionem minus probabilem faventem libertati relicta probaliore, stante pro pracepto. Vol. ii. p. 196, quoted by Segneri in an Italian attack on Gonzalez.

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almost unanimously cherish, is by many men of consideration regarded as the root of lax moral theology, and as the source of those 110 propositions which he and his predecessors had to condemn. Joseph Alfaro of Salamanca was the new professor.

According to Ortiz, it was Alfaro who prompted the General to ask the Revisers to license Elizalde. Another says that, in so doing, the General was clearing a passage for his own book. Four years passed under the Anti-Probabilist General, and no writer of the Society appeared arguing for his view. Then it was that he resolved on himself writing. Passing by both the Revisers and the Assistants, he submitted his manuscript to Alfaro and Estrix, who is believed by our authors to be the writer of the critique on Elizalde, already described. Besides these, two theologians not of his own Order, passed it; but, as we have seen, he did not present it to the Official Censor of the Pope; and yet worse, he sent it to a foreign printer. For any resident in Rome to do this, without permission, was an offence. The book was a new prelude to his long-arrested work.

We already know what took place as soon as Ortiz, once himself a Reviser, learned that the book was in the press. Our friend Diaz also wrote an urgent letter in Spanish. The Assistants singly came and prayed the General not to publish. His own Confessor, who was the Spanish Assistant, on his knees and weeping, urged the same request. When all this failed the five Assistants sent in a formal protest, detailing objections to the proposed publication. He then offered to publish it, not under his own name. The Assistants replied in writing that this did not suffice; and as to his offer to have two or three copies brought to Rome for them to examine, that would be useless; for their views would not be altered. He then authorized the Secretary to tell the French Assistant that he would give up the publication of the book. "Does he renounce absolutely and for ever?" asked the Assistant. "I have no commission to say yea or nay," replied the Secretary; "but I think not. New circumstances might arise. The Pope might command the publication."

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The Assistants did not believe in the General's sincerity in giving up the publication. He apologized to the Master of the Sacred Palace, told him he would not publish without the permission of the Roman authority, and sent him a copy, with the offer to alter anything to which he might take objection. Fearing that it might be handed over to a few Cardinals to inspect, and so might be brought out in spite of the Revisers of the Society, the Assistants prayed the Pope not to allow the book to be published. The Pope, as we know, ordered the entire edition to be sent to Rome, and to be provisionally committed to the Master of the Sacred Palace. One of its dissertations survives, printed by the Dominican Patuzzi. It assigns eight grounds in support of the mild conclusion that it would be advisable for the Society to allow its members freedom to maintain in lectures and writings the views of the *Probabiliorists* against those of the Probabilists.

The poor Provincial Benedict Paintner now had to feel the effects of conflicting counsels. First he received orders to send the book to the Master of the Sacred Palace, and next from the General orders to send it to him. These were followed by orders to delay sending it,—the last came from Truchsess, the German Assistant, from whom evidently the first had proceeded. Twice (so wrote poor Benedict Paintner to the Assistants) had the General asked him who it was that ordered him to send the book to the Master of the Palace, and he had answered, "One commissioned by the Master of the Sacred Palace." The General would be sure to repeat his question. What then was he to say? As to delay he could arrange for that; he could send the book slowly to Munich, and not to Rome, till he had fresh instructions from the Assistants. So if Oliva as General had secretly set aside the authority of the Pope, now the Jesuit Assistants set aside that of the General.

This football-book was eventually ordered to be kept in Dillingen under lock and key. Whence came the last orders as to its fate seems to rest unknown, as also what those orders were, but the fate itself is manifest. The poor offender had

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to depart in peace out of this world. Who, asked Truchsess, of the provincial Paintner, had given a copy to Menangati, the Confessor of the Austrian Emperor. Again, Father Rasseler, an irrepressible *Anti-Probabiliorist*, said to Truchsess, "You may judge how greatly is curiosity to see a book sharpened by its suppression (that hard fate was coming upon his own), when I tell you that here in Dillingen, lately, a man of note from the neighbouring town of Dinkelsbühl, came to the Rector urging him with importunate prayers to get him a copy of Gonzalez's book, because one from his town, who had long been detained as a hostage in Paris, had been told by the Archbishop of that city that if he would, instead of a ransom, procure him one copy of the work, he would promise him release and freedom.[4] Evidently the book had disappeared by this time, four years from the day when Padre Ortiz took his journey from Frascati to the Collegio Romano. Its ghost may reappear and walk the world yet, as in the romantic case of the *Liber Diurnus*. Let no one object to the term romance in the corporeal history of a book until he has read the life-story of the *Liber Diurnus*, as told by M. de Roziere.[5]

Father Segneri, a popular orator and writer, was called to Rome as preacher to the Pope, with whom he became a great favourite. He was a Jesuit, and heart and soul with the Society against Gonzalez. He soon wrote to the General a letter, which would seem to show that, like many orators, his forte did not lie in judgment or real knowledge. "You say," he cried, "that in bringing out this book you wish to set yourself against the lax moral theology of our authors." "In so saying, you cease to be our Father, and take your place among the ranks of our opponents and accusers, seeing that you admit the Laxism, which, when closely examined, turns out to be a calumny, invented by the Jansenists and other adversaries. The charge of Laxism is one which, when ad-

[4] Si modo in lytri vicem obtinuerit sibi Dilinga exemplar unum dicti libri. Vol. ii. p. 186.

[5] *Liber Diurnus Romanorum Pontificum*, edited by Eugène de Roziere, Inspecteur Général des Archives. Paris, 1869.

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vanced by enemies, our Society has always repudiated, and in which, even from you, it will not acquiesce. Your sons will write against you, and what a spectacle: war betwixt father and son! Your proper mode of checking lax morals is to inculcate upon writers that they shall not advocate the Less-Probable opinion, and to make the Censors refuse to books which do so liberty to print. Then, do not think that the effect of your intervention will be that the old view, which has prevailed for so many centuries, will be condemned to make way for the new one which has only just come up." Here Döllinger and Reusch put in a quiet "(?)" Very warm does Father Segneri wax in upholding the freedom of the Society put in jeopardy by the action of the General. He writes in Italian, and, instead of the term Society, constantly says, "the Religion," calling other orders than the Jesuits "other religions," a usage prevalent in Italy, but little observed by English students, though here also it was common in the middle ages.[6] "According to you," he cries, "the reasons why the religion should not erect into an official doctrine the opinion of the Probabilists, as the Jansenists, and you after them call the benign opinion, are these, because that view makes broad the way to heaven which Christ made narrow; hence it foments and fortifies (literal) relaxation of conscience in those who have little of the fear of God, because it unnerves divine preaching, and robs it of its most effective weapons for vanquishing abuses, because it is the occasion to Christian people of innumerable sins." Points these strikingly similar to those urged by La Quintinye. I did not, however, tell of what that complainant said about being not only discouraged from preaching against specific sins, but being silenced in the midst of a course of sermons because he would not desist from so doing.

One point made by Segneri deserves mention, as illustrating the lowering influence, under whatever theory of morals, of minutely anatomizing cases of conscience, and authorizing a priest to give judgment on each point. "In our

[6] Vol. ii. pp. 195-201.

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religion we have so many great doctors who have maintained the benign view, and yet what lax doctrines have they taught? For instance, Azore, Valenza, Vasquez, Suarez. . . . . On the other hand, lately there have been many writers of other religions (*i.e.*, orders) who in general terms repudiate the benign view and maintain the severe one, and who nevertheless, when they come down to particular cases, in practice admit doctrines not merely lax, but pernicious in the last degree." Father Segneri was more correct in the last assertion, than in what he said of Suarez and other Jesuits.

This odd assertion, that no lax doctrine had been taught by Jesuit Probabilists is what in his own oratorical fashion Segneri calls a demonstration *à posteriori* of his own sapient proposition, that the question whether we may or may not act upon a Less-Probable opinion against a More-Probable one has nothing to do with laxity of moral doctrine in the Company. Of the same proposition he gives a demonstration *à priori* which consists in this, that no lax opinion can be a Probable one. All lax opinions are very Improbable. If we say we may follow a Less-Probable opinion, we do not therefore say that we may follow an *Improbable* one.

So far as I recollect, no one had formulated the last doctrine; the degrees were: An opinion unfavourable to the law, but favouring liberty, even though neither reputedly certain, nor certainly probable, may nevertheless be followed if Probable, if Less-Probable, or if Probably-Probable, but to the length of saying if Improbable, they hardly went in *general terms*. Yet were Father Segneri here, one with Gury in hand might ask him whether or not some opinions upon particular cases of that recent light of Jesuit moral theology were not Improbable or Anti-Probable? Now that light it is by which at this hour youths in seminaries are learning how hereafter they shall in many nations, through the Confessional, shape the morals of men and women, of servants and masters, of traders and practitioners, of subjects and rulers. Not improbable! Read Gury's *Casus Conscientiæ*, and then quietly think over the question, whether just as Probable led to Less-

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Probable, and that to Probably-Probable, the last has not led on through Improbable to Anti-Probable?

Father Segneri's history was as naïve as his logic. The Jansenists were the first who brought out the Anti-Probabilist doctrines. And again when properly searched out, the usage throughout all countries, perpetual in the Church, has been this, that from among opinions held by doctors as certainly Probable, every one might lawfully adhere to what pleased him.[7] And this is the "perpetual usage" which a famous preacher to the Pope could *demonstrate à posteriori* and *à priori*, had nothing to do with any lax doctrine on morals. It is well to give his very words: *Che a da fare dunque il tenere che* LICEAT SEQUI OPINIONEM MINUS PROBABILEM IN CONSPECTU PROBABILIORIS *con l'insegnare dottrine larghe.*[8]

So in this strange birth-history of a book "the windings and byways" are steadily traced by Döllinger and Reusch, till instead of the infant of Dillingen that never saw the light, at last appeared another. How the Provincial Congregations sent up Procurators to the Procurator's Congregation; how the latter voted on the question of calling a General Congregation desired by the opponents of Gonzalez, not desired by him; how the vote was 16 to 17, and the Probabilists thought they had won; how the General showed that the rule was "more than half of the votes," arguing that though "17 were more than 16, they were not one more than half of 33, seeing it would take 16½ to make half of 33, and therefore 17½ to make one more;" and how this point of law prevailed are all well told.

So is also told how one diplomatic move of the Assistants was frustrated by another diplomatic move of the General; how letter outwitted letter, memorandum contradicted memorandum, flysheet combated flysheet; how one high personage cried shame upon the Society, another upon the Assistants, and yet another upon the General; how the Assistants

[7] Chiascuno potesse lecitamente aderire a quella che gli piacesse. Vol. ii. p. 199.

[8] What has holding that it is lawful to follow an opinion Less-Probable in comparison with one More-Probable, to do with the teaching of lax doctrines?

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charged Gonzalez with calling secular princes to aid in the fight; how Gonzalez proved that the Assistants themselves were the first to do so; how the Emperor first wrote *pro* and then wrote *con*. Also how the King of Spain sent forth a decree making mention of the persecution suffered by the General from the Assistants; how France was on the other side; how Segneri, the Pope's preacher, plied His Holiness with personal representations, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany with letters; and how Acquirre, the Cardinal, primed the King of Spain on the "great number of writers, especially Jesuits, who with unmeasured liberty, print, teach, and in practice apply very lax views," telling that they branded as Jansenists numbers of learned and pious prelates, doctors, and authors who wrote against their lax morals, and even called Innocent XI. a Jansenist because he had condemned certain of their lax propositions. Also how the Confessor of the King of Spain was for Gonzalez, and the Confessor of the Queen-mother, a Jesuit, was for the Society; and how one pulled court wires this way and the other that way; and how it was alleged that if the strict view of the General should prevail, the power of the Society would be lost, for then Jesuits would no longer be the confessors of kings, queens, princes, and nobles of every degree; how the Jesuits were threatened with the Inquisition; and how the General was denounced by Padre Palazol and others as tyrannical, untruthful, and all that was unlovely; and how others replied that his reputation daily rose in Rome. Then how the Cardinals of the Holy Office, at a sitting on June 24, 1693, declared that the postponement of the publication of a book written in the sense of former Popes against lax morals was a scandal to the Roman Curia and the Church; how, in a search made by order of Cardinal Cybo, Secretary of State, the decree of Innocent XI., long kept out of sight was disinterred from the archives of the Inquisition, instructing the Jesuit General in nowise to permit his Fathers to write in favour of the Less-Probable opinion, or to combat the views of those who contend that it is not allowed to follow the Less-Probable, when we recognize as More-Probable the opposite

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opinion; and, finally, how this decree was not even then issued as it was found, but was altered to take a form less unfavourable to the Probabilists, only authorizing the General to permit his Fathers to write in favour of the More-Probable opinion, and to combat that of the followers of the Less-Probable.[9]

Finally, it is told how the Pope named three Jesuit Revisers, who with criticisms passed the book; and then two outside Revisers, a Carmelite and a Cistercian, who gave it "unmeasured and sometimes tasteless praise;" how to the last the Assistants plagued the Master of the Sacred Palace with requests to have this, that, or the other erased or modified; and how, in 1694, the end of the long struggle was signalized by the appearance of the book. Just twenty-one years had passed since Gonzalez sent in his first manuscript for approbation.

It would be in the episode of Liguori that the shadings of Probabilism would most clearly come out, but these papers already written will suffice to indicate the mine contained in the Döllinger-Reusch *History*, and to stimulate a desire to see it published in our own language.

These facts show the natural history of morals formed by tradition:—first a mere opinion, next a probably probable opinion, then a slightly probable opinion, and in succession a certainly probable opinion, a highly probable opinion, a certain opinion, an indubitable opinion, an ancient opinion, one that always has been of the teaching of the Church, and therefore always will be. Watching these formations in shifting sand, how deep is our sense of rest in looking off to a building of holy law, reposing immovable on the Rock out of which it was hewn—law in no wise fashioned by our subjective states; then steady shall we be as the stars by which we must steer, and like them infinitely benign.

WILLIAM ARTHUR.

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[9] This alteration bears an analogy to that made in the decree of the Council of Trent on the Interpretation of Holy Scripture, as professedly reproduced in the Creed of Pius IV. See *The Pope, the Kings, and the People*, vol. i. p. 192.

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# A CRITIQUE ON DR. HAYMAN'S TRANSLATION OF ST. PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.

IN response to the Editor's invitation to his readers to criticize the free translation of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Ephesians which appears from the pen of Dr. Hayman in the current number of this *Monthly*, I have a few observations to offer.

Dr. Hayman is to be congratulated in the first place on his courage in beginning the work of which his article in the January number seemed to contain a promise, with perhaps the most difficult of all St. Paul's Epistles; and in the second place on the success, generally speaking, of the attempt. It is of course the duty of a reviewer to find fault! Nevertheless praise must predominate now. One cannot but admire the freshness of tone and fulness of vocabulary which characterize this version, while as to the sense to be conveyed it is for the most part set forth with accuracy, lucidity, and force. If indeed he does not find among his critics that "omne tulit punctum," that is simply a matter of course. Of the thousands—the many thousands—of men competent to form a judgment, who in successive ages have directed their attention to this Epistle and hazarded their interpretations of it, one might affirm with confidence that no two have thought alike on all points; but no less confidently one might assert that a very large majority would endorse Dr. Hayman's view as to almost every passage.

Referring first to the Greek text which Dr. Hayman has adopted we may observe that he differs from all modern editors in retaining the words "in Ephesus" (c. i. 1) as of unquestioned authority, while almost all—Tregelles (marg.), Tischendorf, Ellicott, Alford, Westcott and Hort, Segond—bracket them or in some other way intimate their conviction that this Epistle was in fact a circular letter to certain Churches, Bishop Lightfoot maintaining the view



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that it is identical[1] with the Epistle to the Laodiceans. We notice also διανοίας for καρδίας (see below) in c. i. 18; and Dr. Hayman reads with the Textus Receptus ἐγνώρισε in c. iii. 3, where ἐγνωρίσθη is the reading of all the modern editors and even of Stephens in his margin; and retains λοιπά in c. iv. 17, where the evidence of MSS. and of the early Fathers and Versions seems greatly to preponderate in favour of the idea that St. Paul here intended to teach (as also in 1 Thess. iv. 5) that believers from among the Gentiles are now Gentiles no longer but fully naturalized in the spiritual Israel. But for the most part Dr. Hayman's text is that in which all the recent editions are agreed, as in the insertion of ὑμῶν in c. ii. 1, in reading οἰκονομία rather than κοινωνία in c. iii. 9, in omitting τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χρίστου in c. iii. 14, in inserting καί in c. iii. 21, in omitting ὑμῖν in c. iv. 6, in reading φωτός instead of πνεύματος in c. v. 9, and Χρίστου rather than Θεοῦ in c. v. 21, &c.; there being in fact more deviations from the Textus Receptus than are pointed out in the foot notes.

Having formed his text, Dr. Hayman proceeds to translate. Now there are widely different styles of translation. Compare for example Herodotus as exhibited in English dress by Cary and by Rawlinson, or Thucydides by Dale and by Jowitt. Rawlinson and Jowitt are more to Dr. Hayman's mind, giving—not a paraphrase, which would imply an *ad libitum* addition or suppression of phrases or even clauses, but—a free translation that disregards the precise *form* of the original provided the exact *sense* be as fully and exactly as possible set before the English reader.

Now the earnest and painstaking student of any work in a foreign language with which he is not familiar will usually derive benefit from the use of two translations which he can continually compare; as for instance one who is beginning to study Plato with or without the Greek may with much advantage use both Burges's more literal and Jowett's freer renderings. And so the unlettered student of the New Testament

[1] It is fair to add that in a *foot note* at the end Dr. Hayman admits the possible justness of this view.



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cannot but be profited by reading a free but conscientious and scholarly translation like this before us, as well as the closely literal Revised Version of 1881; for this latter will never lose its value unless it be superseded by a further Revision carried out on much the same principles but more successfully.

Turning now to Dr. Hayman's translation of this Epistle, the first thing that strikes one is its possession of one marked merit in that he has not allowed himself to be shackled by the rule (which it was perhaps wise for the Revisers of 1881 to impose upon themselves) that the same Greek word must always, if by any means possible, be represented by the same English word. It is true that in the Authorized Version this licence is often assumed with too little caution. But surely we must not forget the existence of those "certi fines quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum." Every word more or less possesses the quality attributed to the chameleon, —it takes a colouring from its surroundings. And in translating from one language into another an endeavour must be made to reproduce if possible all these shades of meaning. Translators of classical authors make this their aim. For instance in Soph. Œd. Tyr. νόσος occurs six times, and is rendered by Jebb in four different ways (pest, disease, plague, sickness); and λόγος in the singular in eighteen places, which he renders by nine different words (word, words, story, tale, rumour, seeming, talk, speech, report), once he omits it, and in four passages translates more freely. See again how Kennedy deals with the particle οὖν. In translating seven of the shorter speeches of Demosthenes in which this particle occurs in sixty-two places in all, in twenty of these Kennedy uses the illative "therefore," "then," or "so"; he uses "and" in one, "but" in three, "however" in one, "well" in one, and in thirty-six leaves it untranslated. Would there have been any high merit in rendering these words invariably by "disease," "word," and "therefore" respectively? or did these eminent scholars fail to understand their business? Far from it: they know perfectly that the mere "verbum verbo reddere" is *not* translating, and they aimed at something far more difficult, and succeeded admirably.

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In like manner Dr. Hayman renders θέλημα by "appointment," "will," "bidding," and "as (God) requires." He varies the translation of μέτρον by using "proportion" as well as "measure"; οἰκονομία with "stewardship" as well as "dispensation"; χάρις with "blessing" (c. iv. 29) as well as "grace." And as to particles, in dealing with which there is greater need of variety if the true sense is to be preserved, one example will suffice. Κατά occurs twenty-four times in the Epistle, and is translated by Dr. Hayman not even once by the familiar "according to," but in eighteen different ways, none of them repeated (one or two of them questionable perhaps), besides dealing more freely still with the six remaining passages. And the converse of this may be stated. He has used the same English word to represent more than one—even several—of the Greek. For instance our word "with" in this short Epistle stands for sixteen different words or constructions of the original. Is this a fault? I think by no means so, *if* in all sixteen cases the *true* sense is in the *best* way set before the English reader And I think it is so in most if not all of the sixteen.

Moreover even a Fourth Form boy is taught when reading Thucydides or Livy that the longer sentences must in English be broken up into shorter ones, and in this particular to take Gibbon or Hume or Robertson or Macaulay as his model for English style rather than the classical author. Dr. Hayman has so treated the longer sentences of St. Paul. Thus the twelve verses 3-14 of c. i., which in the original are all one sentence, he has divided into five, as Dr. Louis Segond has done in his excellent French version.

Here however an important question arises. Is the train of thought in these twelve verses, as they are commonly exhibited, and even with Dr. Hayman's modification of the arrangement, just such as the inspired writer intended? Others before now have pointed out the poetical character of the Epistle as a whole. Thus the Rev. Ll. Davies[2] writes: "It would be hardly extravagant to regard this work as a hymn.

[2] *The Epistles of St. Paul to the Ephesians, Colossians, and Philemon, with Introduction and Notes.* Macmillan 1866.

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Though the form of the composition is that of a letter, the mood of the writer is lyrical rather than hortatory. From time to time the eucharistic strain which pervades the whole Epistle rises into rhythmic solemnity; and the diction is throughout somewhat more poetical than in the other writings of St Paul." In like manner Archdeacon Farrar characterizes the Epistle as "lyrical and Asiatic," and the doctrinal portion of it as "a creed soaring into the loftiest of Evangelic Psalms." But even Mr. Davies and Dr. Farrar have overlooked the remarkable structure of this particular passage, as pointed out by an anonymous writer (J. C. W.), in *Kitto's Journal of Sacred Literature* for July 1850, pp. 190, 191. He connects "holy and blameless before him" (v. 4) with *two* dependent phrases—"in love" immediately following and "in all wisdom and intelligence" (v. 8); and he shows that each of these phrases is then expanded with a subordidate parenthetical sentence of *five* clauses. Moreover these subordinate sentences have a curious resemblance to each other: the *first* clause in each begins with an aorist participle (προορίσας, v. 5, and γνωρίσας, v. 8), and adduces an illustration of the perfection, first in love, secondly in wisdom, that God chooses to confer upon His people; the *second* in each begins with κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν, to make it plainer still that this was the fixed purpose of His grace; the *third* with εἰς, to point out the yet remoter purpose, that (1) in the *love* we should extol the marvellous "grace which He has freely bestowed on us in the Beloved One," and (2) in the *wisdom* we should understand how the Father is controlling all the ages with a view to establishing His Anointed as Head over all Creation; the *fourth* with "in Whom we," the thought here reverting to ourselves, on whom this "redemption" (v. 7), this "inheritance" as fellow-heirs[3] with Christ (v. 11), is to

[3] I agree with Dr. Hayman here in taking ἐκληρώθημεν to mean, not "we were constituted an inheritance," as it is interpreted by Olshausen, Ellicott, and others, but "we were made heirs," with Harless, Meyer, and many more. This sense far better suits the context as a whole, and the analogy of πολεμόω fully justifies the rendering. As this verb signifies "I bring into contact with a πόλεμος" (for it is from πόλεμος, not πολέμιος, that it is formed), so κληρόω may fairly be "I bring into contact with a κλῆρος."

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be bestowed; and the *fifth* with κατά, pointing to the standard by which (1) the *love* and (2) the *wisdom* of the perfected saints may be measured—"the wealth of His grace," and our understanding of the deep counsels of the Almighty.

It is inconceivable that all this curious and intricate parallelism should be merely accidental. Besides, after the strophe and antistrophe thus carefully symmetrical comes—still a part of the same sentence—an epode also of like Dædalean construction. After four words of introduction (εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἡμᾶς, v. 12) come four phrases or clauses of which the first and last are identical, with two relative clauses intervening, each enlarged with a participial addition, three quasi-appositive phrases or clauses following numbers 1, 2, and 3.

The whole Ode, translated more literally than by Dr. Hayman, runs as follows:—

Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ
Who has blessed us with every spiritual blessing treasured up for us in the highest heavens in Christ,
Even as He elected us in Him before the foundation of the world
To be holy and blameless in His presence
In love,
(For he has pre-ordained us to adoption as His own sons through Jesus Christ,
As seemed good to Him and was His sovereign will,
With a view to the extolling of the glorious fulness of His grace freely bestowed on us in the Beloved One,
In Whom we have redemption through His blood, even the pardon of our transgressions,
According to the measure of His wealth of grace which He hath lavished upon us),
And in perfect wisdom and intelligence,
(For He has made known to us the secret counsel of His will,
As seemed good to Him and He had purposed in Himself,
With a view to His plan for the consummation of the ages, to give all Creation its Head in Christ—creatures celestial and terrestrial in Him—
In Whom also we have been made heirs, being pre-ordained to this
According to His purpose Who doeth all things after His own wisdom and sovereign will),

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That we should live
To the extolling of His glorious perfections—
We of the Jews who first hoped in Christ—
In Whom ye of the Gentiles also, after having heard the word of truth,
The glad tidings of salvation for you,
In Whom ye after having believed were sealed with the Spirit of promise, the Holy Spirit,
Who is the earnest of our inheritance in view of our full redemption who are His own special people,
To the extolling of His glorious perfections.[4]

This Ode is followed by one of those sublime prayers springing out of thanksgiving in which the Apostle delights to pour out His soul before God on behalf of the saints whom he loves.

Here Dr. Hayman has employed some felicitous expressions giving, as I venture to think, a just representation

[4] At the suggestion of the Editor I append the Greek text, quoting—as to words, not arrangement or punctuation or contractions—from my own edition, the *Resultant Greek Testament.*

*Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*
*ὁ εὐλογήσας ἡμᾶς ἐν πάσῃ εὐλογίᾳ πνευματικῇ ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρ. ἐν Χριστῷ,*
*καθὼς ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς ἐν αὐτῷ πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου*
*εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἁγίους καὶ ἀμώμους κατενώπιον αὐτοῦ*
*ἐν ἀγάπῃ,*
*(προορίσας ἡμᾶς εἰς υἱοθεσίαν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς αὐτον*
*κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ*
*εἰς ἔπαινον δόξης τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ ἧς ἐχαρίτωσεν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ Ἠγαπημένῳ,*
*ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν διὰ τοῦ αἵμ. αὐτοῦ, τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν παραπτωμάτων,*
*κατὰ τὸ πλοῦτος τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ ἧς ἐπερίσσευσεν εἰς ἡμᾶς),*
*ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ καὶ φρονήσει,*
*(γνωρίσας ἡμῖν τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ*
*κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν αὐτοῦ, ἣν προέθετο ἐν αὐτῷ*
*εἰς οἰκ. τοῦ πληρ. τῶν καιρ., ἀν. τὰ πάντα ἐν τ. Χρ., τὰ ἐ. τ. οὐρ. κ. τὰ ἐ. τ. γῆς ἐν αὐ.,*
*ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐκληρώθημεν, προορισθέντες*
*κατὰ πρόθ. τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐνεργοῦντος κατὰ τ. βουλὴν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ),*
*εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἡμᾶς*
*εἰς ἔπαινον δόξης αὐτοῦ*
*τοὺς προηλπικότας ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ·*
*ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἀκούσαντες τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας,*
*τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς σωτηρίας ὑμῶν,—*
*ἐν ᾧ καὶ πιστεύσαντες ἐσφραγίσθητε τῷ Πνεύματι τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τῷ Ἁγίῳ,*
*ὅ ἐστιν ἀρραβὼν τῆς κληρονομίας ἡμῶν εἰς ἀπολ. τ. περιποιήσεως*
*εἰς ἔπαινον τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ.*

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of the Apostle's meaning. Such are "insight into mysteries" (ἀποκάλυψις, "revelation," A.V.), "wealth of glory" (πλοῦτος τῆς δόξης, "riches of the glory," A.V.,—"wealth" in A.V. occurring only twice in the N.T. and being limited to the sense of *welfare*, which it has now long outgrown), "energy of omnipotent might" (v. 19), "high over the hierarchy of angelic potentates in all their ranks" (v. 21), and, *if* this is the true meaning, which however I gravely doubt, "full recipient" (πλήρωμα, v. 23, rather than "fulness," A.V., or "the filled up receptacle," with Eadie).

But, as has just been intimated, it may be questioned whether the passage as a whole is correctly given. First, the accuracy of one or two single words may be disputed. Thus there can be little doubt that καρδίας, not διανοίας, ought to be read in v. 18: even the Complutensian Polyglot reads καρδίας, and Stephens in his margin, as well as in modern times every editor from Griesbach and Scholz to Westcott and Hort and Segond. For Dr. Hayman can never have intended to render καρδίας by "intellect." Surely the inspired writer used the phrase "the eyes of your heart" deliberately, to intimate the vast influence which a man's moral condition —the aggregate of his affections and desires, his "inner man"—exercises upon his creed. And again in v. 19, does "*due to* that energy," for κατά, hit the mark? Is it not rather "as measured by," "as judged by the standard of"?

But the sense of the prayer as a whole, has Dr. Hayman given that? I think not, and mainly owing to a misapprehension as to that κατά. Is not the Apostle's petition something like this? He prays that God will bestow on his readers heavenly wisdom and insight (in accordance with vv. 8–12) to know in all its splendour the hope that shines before them: to know (1) the "wealth of glory" of that supercelestial realm where Christ will dwell among His fellow-heirs; and (2) what is the greatness, surpassing all our grasp of intellect, of that power by which God will effect His purpose. Of this He has given an example in the resurrection and exaltation of His Son, and all the true Church is to be raised and exalted *in like manner;* for the Head, though

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swaying the sceptre of the universe, is yet incomplete without the Body. In that body (v. 23) He will find—or in the counsels of God has found—His completeness (or complement, πλήρωμα), He whom the Father is perfectly (τὰ πάντα, cf. c. iv. 15) completing with every possible augmentation of His majesty and glory (ἐν πᾶσιν). (Lightfoot's comment on this passage seems to me far from satisfactory.)

It will be remembered how our Lord, when questioned by the Sadducees about the resurrection of the dead, replied charging them with error, as being ignorant of the Scriptures and of "the power of God." In the passage before us the Apostle insists on God's power not only to raise the dead, but to exalt His chosen ones to the topmost pinnacle of all creation. The Head is already so set on high; but He cannot remain incomplete: the Body must be with Him even there.

Already in writing to the Roman Christians (c. viii. 29, 30) St. Paul had given expression to the same thought in a varied form. In the counsels of the Father believers are already glorified, and whatever may be the ineffable beauty and dignity with which Christ is invested, His people are to be modelled after the same pattern, and though He be Lord of the whole Creation, they, a multitude that no man can number, are to be the "brethren" among whom He is "the First-born."

A kindred thought to that expressed in the closing verses of c. i. has seemed to many expositors to be conveyed by the words (c. iii. 15)—τὸν Πατέρα ἐξ οὗ πᾶσα πατριὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ὀνομάζεται. Scott for instance comments thus: "'of whom the whole family' of believers on earth and saints and angels in heaven are named and considered as the children of God, being gathered together in one in Christ." Dr. Hayman renders—unhappily, I think—"that Father from whom all relationship in heaven and on earth takes its name." These words would appear to signify that if I have an uncle, a cousin, a guardian, an employer, the implied uncleship, cousinship, &c., as well as the correlation in each case, is so named from the great Father in heaven! If we suppose Dr. Hayman to have written "all *fatherly* relationship," and that the adjective has accidentally

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dropped out; or if we render with Mr. Davies "every stock owning a common father," or with Alford, R.V., and others, "every family"; a like difficulty occurs. *Is it true* that in this sense every *gens* or family, as *named* among the Chinese or the Maoris or the Patagonians, in Turkish or in Swedish, in Sichuana or in Eskimo, is so named from the Father in Whom *we* believe and Whom *we* adore? Moreover "every family" in heaven: have the angels families? and fathers of families? What says our great Teacher? "But when the dead have risen, they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels in the heavens" (Mark xii. 25). There exist therefore no angelic families. But is not the idea of paternity in heaven, asks Dean Alford, "necessarily involved in *any* explanation of this passage?" Yes, if we are bound to translate πᾶσα here by "every," as we should translate it in classical Greek. But are we so bound?

Before answering that question let me observe that there is another objection to "every family." When we speak of earthly matters, there is some meaning in the phrase "all the families of the earth," as signifying all that exist at any one time side by side and independent of one another, each owning a more or less distant father of its own, their common remoter origin forgotten. But when that grand panegyris and church of the first-born shall have assembled, the common origin will not be forgotten, and all will be manifestly one family of Adam's children, one and indivisible, recognizing God as the one true Head and Father of the whole race. And so far as the redeemed have already met together in heaven, this is true of them. Therefore, speaking of them, "every family" is a phrase without meaning.

Returning now to πᾶς, we find a similar use of the word in Col. i. 15, πάσης κτίσεως, which, says Alford, "is not denied by most commentators to bear the sense 'of all creation.'" So Lightfoot. And just similar are the words ἐν πάσῃ κτίσει in Col. i. 23. And in the Epistle before us, c. ii. 21, we read πᾶσα οἰκοδομή, where Alford justly remarks, "to a *classical Greek ear* any other rendering of πᾶσα οἰκ. than 'every build-

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ing' seems preposterous enough. But 'every building' here is quite out of place, inasmuch as the Apostle is clearly speaking of but one vast building, the mystical Body of Christ." Would that the learned Dean had so reasoned on c. iii. 15! Dr. Hayman is bold enough to obey the dictates of common sense rather than the rules of Greek classical syntax, and to write "the whole structure"; and quite rightly.

For there is yet another of these πᾶς puzzles, which we shall find exceedingly instructive. In Acts ii. 36 we have the words ἀσφαλῶς οὖν γινωσκέτω πᾶς οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ κτλ. Here the Revisers have partly thrown off the yoke of classical syntax and actually render in their text "Let all the house of Israel therefore," &c.; though they could not forbear putting in the margin "every house." But this phrase πᾶς οἶκος Ἰσραήλ is simply borrowed from the Septuagint, as in Num. xx. 29, 1 Sam. vii. 2, 3, &c. Does, then, the Hebrew usage throw any light on this? The common rule for the use of the Hebrew כֹּל is the same in respect to the article as that for πᾶς, "nisi nomen proprium est, quod determinatione non eget," says Gesenius. But Gesenius, so far as I have seen, omits to state, though unquestionably the fact was familiar to him, that a phrase like "the house of Israel," "the house of Saul," &c., was regarded as a proper name, and כֹּל in such a connexion is therefore not followed by the article, as in וכל בֵּית יוֹסֵף ("and the whole house of Joseph," Gen. l. 8.), כָּל־בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל ("the whole house of Israel," Lev. x. 6, &c.). In like manner "all the congregation of Israel" omits the article כָּל־קְהַל יִשְׂרָאֵל (Lev. xvi. 17), כָּל־עֲדַת יִשְׂרָאֵל (Josh. xxii. 20). Yet in, I believe, all these cases the O. T. Company of Revisers have rendered by "all the" or "the whole," and indeed in many cases to translate "every separate household" would be a patent absurdity.

Besides, what scholar does not know that there are even in classical Greek many monadic nouns which are often used without the article? Such are πατήρ, μήτηρ, ἥλιος, σελήνη, ἄστυ, πόλις, πατρίς. What then was more natural than that Greek-speaking Christians, when forming for themselves to a certain extent a new vocabulary, should be influenced by this

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precedent and use some other nouns as anarthrous besides those that were so used by the true Greeks?

It is admitted that ἐκκλησία is thus anarthrous in nine passages (1 Cor. xi. 18, xiv. 4, 19, 28, 35; 1 Tim. iii. 5, 15; Heb. ii. 12; 3 John 6.), what can be more reasonable than to expect similar or other monadic words to be similarly used? Then we can understand at once how Κτίσις, as the whole Creation, can be used as though it were a proper name; and how the whole Church on earth may be spoken of as Οἰκοδομή, the Building, and the vast Assembly of all God's redeemed people together with the angelic host be called the Family. Surely this is a magnificent conception and truly worthy of the greatest of the Apostles, and one not to be set aside as an idle fantasy unless Grammar—whose authority must be paramount—puts in her veto in loud clear tones that cannot be misunderstood. This she certainly does not do here. It is unfortunate that we cannot find in our language a pair of cognate words equivalent to the πατήρ and πατριά of the verse we are here considering; but the sense nevertheless is in my humble judgment as clear as it is sublime.

If indeed St. Paul alludes to "the Family" in this sense, as assuming that he would be readily understood, we must not forget that he is writing to Churches at least one of which he had personally visited and fed with much oral instruction, and that he justly expected (see 2 Thess. ii. 5) that his teaching would be retained in careful remembrance. And that teaching would include the sublime truth, which, as I dare to believe, πᾶσα πατριά was intended here to reproduce, that all holy beings, angelic and human, in heaven and on earth, are one Family with one adorable "Father of an infinite majesty"; and it was as for children in that Family and to the Father of that Family that the incense of that glowing prayer arose.

Among Dr. Hayman's numerous excellent renderings which it would be a pleasure to quote if space permitted, his treatment of εὐτραπελία (c. v. 4), one of the ἅπαξ λεγόμενα of this Epistle, deserves notice. Dr. Farrar renders this by "worldly polish." But are the refinement and polish which

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characterize the higher circles of the *beau monde* in themselves unchristian? Does Dr. Farrar himself eschew them? He has not the credit of so doing. His view is based on the passage of Aristotle referred to by Trench (Syn. of N. T., p. 135), in which the εὐτράπελος is placed midway between the ἄγροικος or boor and the βωμόλοχος or low flatterer. But surely it is easily conceivable that a word which by its derivation (undoubtedly from εὖ τρέπεσθαι, as Etym. Magn.) signified only the faculty of easily turning one's mind or changing the direction of a thought, but had already in the time of Aristotle degenerated so far as to mean impertinent wit (or, as Dr. Farrar expresses it, "cultivated impertinence") may nearly four centuries later have become still more debased—yet still within the limits fixed by its etymology—so as to indicate that kind of jesting which we often call in bad French a *double entendre*. Dr. Hayman's rendering, "prurient jests," seems pretty exactly to express the Apostle's meaning.

On the other hand I think that in verse 12 of this chapter the two phrases beginning with εἰς were intended to be co-ordinate (a point however which I have not room to discuss), and that in vv. 8-10 the same word should have been used in the text as in the margin—"*re*-ascended." V. 9 is given thus: "What else can this ascending of His imply than that He first came down to earth beneath?" But ascending does *not* of necessity imply a previous descent. Many people probably will go to Paris this summer and ascend the Eiffel tower: does that imply that they will have descended first? The fact is ἀνά has at times the double sense of *up* + *again*: not *again* in the sense of repetition, but of reversing or *un*-doing a previous action or process. (See an article by Professor Key on ἀνά in the Philological Society's Transactions for 1854.) Here are a few N. T. examples. Joseph's brethren had quite forgotten him, but their recovery from that forgetfulness is indicated by the ἀνεγνωρίσθη of Acts vii. 13. The officers who in charge of a troop of cavalry conducted St. Paul to Cæsarea *reddiderunt* to Felix the letter of Claudius Lysias: ἀναδόντες, Acts xxiii. 33. The returning Prodigal in the parable νεκρὸς

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ἦν καὶ ἀνέζησεν, Luke xv. 24; with which compare Rom. vii. 8, 9, ἁμαρτία νεκρὰ . . . . ἀνέζησεν. The son of the widow of Nain when restored to life ἀνεκάθισεν, Luke vii. 15; and so Dorcas, Acts ix. 40. The awful condition of some backsliders is such that it is impossible to reverse their backsliding and ἀνακαινίζειν them to repentance, Heb. vi. 6—the πάλιν here enforcing by iteration an idea already conveyed by the ἀνά; and ἀνακαινόω is somewhat similarly used in 2 Cor. iv. 16, and Col. iii. 10. So God declares (Acts xv. 16) that he will rebuild (ἀνοικοδομήσω) and set upright again (ἀνορθώσω) David's tent which is fallen and overthrown. In some of these passages the *again* even outweighs the *up*, but taken all together their collective authority fully justifies our speaking in this passage of the "*re*-ascension" of Christ, which does as "ascension" does not, do justice to the Apostle's argument.

There are several other points that clamour for notice, but my space is exhausted. An especially tempting topic is the rendering of the Greek aorist. In c. iv. 32 for example ἐχαρίσατο is rendered by Dr. Hayman (as also by Alford and in R.V.) by "forgave" rather than "hath forgiven" as in A.V. and even by Scholefield. That there is some peculiar merit, a high degree of philological virtue, in translating ἤκουσα by "I heard" rather than "I have heard" or "I had heard," as often as is any way possible, is believed and taught by many scholars, whom therefore almost all others follow, simply on the sheep-through-the-gap principle. I venture to differ, though somewhat painfully conscious of being in a very small minority on this question. There is however a dictum of Sir Thomas Browne which is singularly encouraging to those who attempt with a cautious boldness to exercise an independent judgment: "The mortallest enemy unto knowledge, and that which hath done the greatest execution upon truth, hath been a peremptory adhesion unto authority." Thus reassured I hope to have the opportunity some day of arguing this aorist question, though it cannot be done now.

RICHARD FRANCIS WEYMOUTH, D.LIT. LOND.

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# CURRENT POINTS AT ISSUE.

## RITUALISM.

Is there any human imagination brilliant enough to picture the astonishment of St. Peter, for example, could he have the opportunity of reading a modern *Directorium Anglicanum* He, who sat in that upper chamber by the side of the Master as He instituted that Last Supper, with a pathos and a simplicity that was touching and beautiful. Compare that with the complicated, gaudy, and distracting ceremonial of modern Romanism or Ritualism; how startling and how sad the contrast! No *Ceremoniarius*, or Master of the Ceremonies, was needed there; and what was not needed there should remain unneeded still.

Our attention has been called to this subject by an article on English Ceremonial, in the *Church Quarterly Review* for the past quarter, in which a new Ritualist Directory is somewhat severely criticized, and most justly condemned. Not, however, on the ground of any objection to an elaborate, if correct, ceremonial, but because this work "chooses a purely ultramontane book as the basis of an English ritual directory." The writer tells our clergy that a better book would have been Martinucci's *Manuale Sacrarum Cæremoniarum.* But as this is a work in six volumes, it is just possible that the most ardent Ritualist might scarcely find time to study it with sufficient accuracy and frequency to enable him to recollect at the right moment the infinite detail it contains. The writer does not seem to be an advocate for a tedious and fussy ceremonial; indeed, he condemns it, and rightly tells us that "with the post-Tridentine reform of 1570 a different spirit from the earlier simplicity made itself dominant. The era of detailed and minute ceremonial set in." He also condemns severely "the custom of encasing the Anglican Consecration Prayer in a number of *formulæ*, translated from the Gregorian Canon, as



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if our own *formulæ* were not good and valid." We are quite at one with him here, and also when he says, "the Book of Common Prayer would be a better guide for the priest than any number of directories." Why then not honestly leave it to speak for itself, so that all things may be done simply, while decently and in order. A certain amount of ritual is necessary, and a certain amount of reverence is still more necessary, but true reverence seems scarcely compatible with a distracting service. We have only a limited amount of attention at our disposal, and if we dispose of that in the arrangement of our bodies, there is none left for the arrangement of our souls. This danger is plainly indicated in the approval he gives to the saying of Mr. Beresford Hope, that "the science of ecclesiology was the science of worship." We had thought the science of worship was a broken and a contrite spirit, that is if the word "science" can be applied at all to worship. To the "worship" of Le Vavasseur or Martinucci it may be applied, but not to that of the Apostles. It must be disastrous to all growth in grace when decoration is more studied than devotion, when ritual takes a higher place than righteousness, and when the order of worship supplants the object of worship.

That Ritualism should be popular is natural, as it appeals to the sensuous, the refined and the cultured sensuous, no doubt, but still the sensuous; it also calls forth emotions that are good, and that may be easily mistaken for piety; it appears to wing the spirit for the time into a higher air. In all this, however, lies one of its greatest dangers, for it lulls the soul to sleep the pleasant dream that it is penitent when it is only sentimental, that it is converted when it is only charmed, that it is holy when it is only æsthetic. There is no greater error than to mistake emotion for conviction; the former is only a feeling that arises apart from the will, the latter is the willed concentration of knowledge and conscience on our sin and its relation to Christ and God, and this alone is the way to pardon, peace, and Heaven. We may be perfectly conversant with "that most difficult of subjects, the study of Liturgy," we may take the utmost care that no "lay person" touches "the corporal, the pall, and the purificator," before being

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washed by "a clerk in holy orders;" we may avoid the blunders of "the gentleman who does the notes in the Kalendar of the English Church," about the "holy oils," and yet we may not be Christians. But, on the other hand, the Ritualist may add to Ritualism that which it does not contain, and be a devoted servant of a much-loved Christ.

### ROMAN PERVERTS.

It is no easy thing to think. Calmly, earnestly, and honestly to think, requires more determination than most men possess. If we could only get the results of thought without the labour it would be so much pleasanter. "Certainly it would," says the Church of Rome; "I shall think for you, especially on religious matters, and save you all further trouble. Cast your eye on all Christendom outside this united family, and see what thinking has done for men—divisions, and schisms on every side. Come, therefore, into this ark and rest, believe what I believe, and be at peace. I shall not tell you why I believe, for that would be to make you think, and so do you no good at all." The Rev. S. Rivington listened to the siren song, believed it, and flung himself into the embrace of Rome. Indifferent or careless men would escape the snare, but the danger is to those who really wish to know what is true, but think themselves incompetent to solve the problem. They imagine it almost presumption to dare to think for themselves on subjects that have engaged the attention of the greatest minds. And when they turn their gaze on the Church to which they belong, or on others called Protestant, they find such a variety of views that the task of personal investigation seems hopeless. Romanism having long since discovered this fact, adapted herself to the need, and with her almost superhuman subtlety offered to supply the want. No more cunningly devised system ever existed on our earth, for there is not a failing of human nature, as it exists, that is not met on the easiest terms.

Mr. Rivington thought, for example, that the Church of England "was wavering even on the subject of hell," and so to be certain about this pleasant topic, he joined a Church

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where he imagined there was no wavering. No doubt, in all sincerity and singleness of heart, but we fear there is disappointment in store for him; for as the *Church Quarterly* points out, even Roman Catholic divinity has been touched by the questions which concern *eschatology*, as may be seen in the volume by the Abbé le Noir, entitled, *Dictionnaire des Harmonies de la Raison et de la Foi.* Therefore he leaves the Church of England "for a communion in which for these thirty years past the above waverings have been taught and published (we believe, without the slightest rebuke,) in what is put forward as a Manual of Orthodoxy." We fear, therefore, or rather we are glad, that even in Rome he will have to think. We say we are "glad," because no man ought to neglect any endowment from God, and surely reason is one of the noblest. Mr. Rivington imagines "authority" a plain reason for joining the Church of Rome. The correction shall come from Cardinal Newman, who writes, "There will be, in spite of you, unbelief and immorality to the end of the world, and you must be prepared for immorality more odious, and unbelief more astute, more subtle, more bitter, and more resentful, in proportion as it is obliged to dissemble," by authority. We shall look anxiously on Mr. Rivington's return to our Church, for another book entitled, *Roman Authority a Delusion and a Snare.*

## CREDIBILITY OF THE MIRACULOUS.

Professor Huxley must have been working hard at his own peculiar studies, and so is resting himself by a little indulgence in theological fun. He gives the readers of *The Nineteenth Century* a somewhat detailed account of the experiences of Eginhard,—in the matter of miracles wrought by the dead bodies of saints, &c. It is the usual record of superstitious nonsense and ridiculous absurdities. But now comes the Professor's reason for the story. He asks, "If you do not believe in these miracles, recounted by a witness whose character and competency are firmly established, whose sincerity cannot be doubted, &c., why do you profess to believe in stories of a like character which are found" in the Gospels and the Acts? Surely our friend cannot be



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serious when he classes the miracles of Christ and those of these dry bones together as "stories of a like character." If Professor Huxley, and others of his school, would sometimes divert their attention from the witness *for* miracles and study the witness *of* miracles, they would arrive at different results. What do those so-called miracles of Eginhard prove? Nothing whatever. They have no antecedent reason, they have no permanent resultant. The miracles of Christ, on the other hand, fit grandly in with the whole plan of man's salvation. They are beautifully placed in the temple of a restored humanity. We should naturally have anticipated from the miracle of the Incarnation that others would follow. They did follow, and have as their resultant—Christendom.

### "THE NEW REFORMATION."

We are entertained in the pages of the same magazine to a dialogue written by Mrs. Ward, a sort of overflow from *Robert Elsmere.* There are two beautiful characters, one with "an attractive and vigorous individuality," and "broad-shouldered power," this of course was the new reformer; the other with "aspect singularly refined," this was the high-church priest. The former talks nineteen pages, the latter only four. The former is a German scholar, the latter is not. The scepticism was produced by the "Higher Criticism," specially of Germany, so that on the whole we can scarcely wonder if the sceptic seems to have the best of it. The cleric does not say much, but one sentence of his is not answered by the other, and contains the pith of the whole matter,—"*Religious* action," said Ronald bitterly, "what religion is possible to men who regard Christ as a good man with mistaken notions on many points, and God as an open question?" What, indeed! The "Higher Criticism" must be dumb before a convicted conscience in presence of a holy God. In these pages there is much that is beautifully expressed and scholarly, much that is suggestive, much that is stimulating, but there is nothing about *sin*, and there cannot be any "reformation" of character that ignores that vital fact, and its relation to God. JAMES McCANN.

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# CURRENT LITERATURE.

**Preachers' Helps.** THE Editors of the *Homilist* (1) tell us that "the growth of preaching ability does not seem to be on the advance. There are multitudes of professed expounders, but there is a growth of mental laziness and bodily languor in the pulpit. A parson who can run like an antelope after a cricket ball or dance like a flying windmill at tennis,—when he gets into the pulpit dwarfs down into a poor sickly-looking, inanimate dummy, who has neither muscles, nor vigour or lungs. It seems as if one would almost long to have a sharp instrument as a goad to make the sluggish, semi-animate marionettes show that they are alive. This is a strong accusation, but it is true. The reason is evident. There has not been sufficient preparation, and the preacher's time and talents are engrossed in finding out *what* he has got to say instead of how he shall say it." This, is indeed, strong language; and we suppose that the editors of the *Homilist* have reason for saying it. But without being "cricketing antelopes or dancing windmills," parsons may have scant leisure for sermon making after going through all that is expected of a clergyman nowadays. And if preaching gets worse, it is in spite of innumerable aids and assistances, such as our forefathers did not possess. The *Homilist* has a large circulation, and we suppose that the editors intend it as a palliative of what they so vigorously deplore. There cannot be a doubt that there is a good deal in what the *Homilist* says that is suggestive; and if a preacher knows how to clothe a skeleton with life, there are the bones of many a good sermon in the volume before us. But this same volume shows need of more careful supervision. "*Pharoah*" and "*Modoc*" look strange and uncanny, and "ritualistic Benson" is hardly the way to speak of the Primate of all England. This volume contains a homiletical commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter, and to the Romans. There are also some prize competitions in the way of sermon skeletons; and a series of what are called "Leading Homilies," by the Rev. J. J. Bird.

THE *Homiletic Magazine* (2) is more carefully edited; and also contains some very good sermon notes; rather fuller than is often the case. The theological section contains some useful papers; that on Gnosticism appears in the Index as upon Agnosticism, but possibly there is a reason for that. The expository section furnishes commentaries on some of our Lord's miracles, on the books of Amos,



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Obadiah, and Jonah; and on the Epistle to the Galatians; all of which are suggestive, if not exhaustive; and there is also a life of St. John continued. This volume may worthily find a place along with its predecessors upon the clergyman's shelves, and will be a book for handy reference "many a time and oft."

*The Biblical Illustrator* (3) furnishes a commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, which is a sort of reference library for the use not only of the preacher, but of the lay reader as well. It forms not at all dry or uninteresting reading, and consists of remarks and quotations, made with considerable skill, from all kinds of sources. There is a very useful introduction, and if the volume had an index it would be more valuable.

(4) "THE discovery of the important place once occupied by the Hittites," says Professor Sayce, "has been termed the 'romance of ancient history.'" It is marvellous to think that only ten years ago the "romance" could not have been written, and that the part played by the Hittite nations in the history of the world was still unsuspected. Yet now we have become, as it were, familiar with the friends of Abraham and the race to which Uriah belonged. The references to the Hittites in the Scriptures, which formerly were accounted an unhistorical weakness, are now seen to be very genuine supporters of the accuracy of Biblical history. The remains of the Hittites have, by no means been all discovered; nor have those that are already brought to light been fully deciphered; but the key has probably been found, and no doubt the patient research of paleographists will ere long be richly rewarded. It was among the Hittites, apparently, that the Amazons, armed priestesses of their goddess, were found; and to them succeeding generations owed the arts of making inlaid furniture and other things, which showed them to be greatly advanced in civilization. Professor Sayce gives an interesting account of his journey to the Pass of Karabel, in Asia Minor, to see some rock-cut figures and inscriptions, on the ancient road from Ephesus to Smyrna; altogether the work is extremely valuable. The book is nicely illustrated, and has a good index.

(1) The *Homilist.* Popular Series. Vol iii. Houlston & Sons, Paternoster Row, 1888.

(2) The *Homiletic Magazine.* Vol. xix. July to December, 1888. J. Nisbet & Co.

(3) *Biblical Illustrator:* Galatians. J. Nisbet & Co.

(4) *The Hittites,—the story of a forgotten Empire.* A. H. Sayce, LL.D. Religious Tract Society. 1888.

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**Some American Magazines.** FOUR Magazines of religious subjects have been forwarded to us from their American publishers, and we have pleasure in commending them for their excellence. They are ably edited, beautifully printed, and altogether got up in a manner which leaves nothing to be desired.

The *Bibliotheca Sacra* (5) now begins its fifty-ninth year, and is a good index to the vigorous life of Oberlin College, Ohio, whence it issues. The number before us contains an interesting account of Dr. Nathaniel Taylor, who has been called "the last of the great masters in the distinctive theology of New England," meaning by the great masters, "those who have contributed to the progress of thought by more exact definitions and distinctions in theology." But we believe that this is not the case, for there are many signs that profound thought has by no means died out of New England. The "Limits of Ministerial Responsibility" is a useful article; and that on "Future Punishment and Recent Exegesis" shows that at any rate the last word has not been said on the older side of this subject. Professor Stevens traverses the conclusions of Prebendary Row and Canon Farrar in several ways, which are worth thinking over. We are pleased also with a short article on "Divine Human Names" in which Mr. Laurie points out a weak spot in the arguments of Professor Sayce. The magazine has a good article on German Literature, and one on Recent Publications, which is admirable in its condensed statements. The *Bibliotheca Sacra* deserves to be more widely known in this country.

The *Baptist Quarterly* (6) clearly proves that that denomination of Christians possesses some learned and thoughtful members. The "Preacher as Pastor" is the title of a very useful article; and that on the art and genius of Tennyson is almost exhaustive of that very fruitful subject. Mr. Parsons, the author of the article, is of opinion that Tennyson "is not so sublime a poet as Milton, or even Shelley; he is deficient in ideality, which can form a new world of its own, as in 'Midsummer Night's Dream' or 'Fairy Queen.' Nature did not endow him with the pure, fresh, joyous, imagination of Homer. Tennyson's conceptions do not have the spirit and boldness, the freedom and distinctness of Collins' and Byron's, or of Wordsworth's and Coleridge's. In penetrative imagination he is inferior to Scott, Byron, and Wordsworth; he has not the boundless vision and universal sweep of Dante and Shakespeare. With all his elegant word-painting and brilliant jewellery he has produced nothing equal to

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Gray's Elegy; in spontaneous expression of sorrow he is not so successful as Virgil or many a lesser poet; and yet, withal he is a great poet. He is the exponent of the domestic and social life of the fashionable and middle classes, as Trollope was in fiction. But his poetry is not so much a mirror of the outward appearance and complexion of society as of its heart and its speculative, questioning moods." The Homiletic department of this review is somewhat peculiar, but it may be useful. The review of Current Literature is up to date, and is well done.

*The Presbyterian Review* (7) is also a vigorous and learned number. There is an interesting article on "A Hundred Years Ago and Now," and one "On the Right of the Poor," in which Dr. Yeomans attempts to advance the study of that difficult subject. Dr. Orr writes on Assyrian and Hebrew Chronology, in order to solve as best he may the discrepancies between the two systems; and there is a thoughtful article on the "Idealism of Spinoza." Altogether this review must be pronounced a valuable addition to the course of modern thought.

The *Missionary Review of the World* (8) is indeed an extensive title; but we must admit that the contents of the magazine fairly support it. The missionary efforts everywhere are noted, and commented upon in a hopeful spirit which does one good to read after all that the pessimistic party have to urge in this respect. There is an especially good article entitled "The Miracles of Missions," in which the idea is thrown out of having a Missionary Exhibition, which should set before the public in a striking way the results of the last century of missionary effort, and we cannot but think that there is a good deal in this notion; for it is unquestionable that missionaries, considering the money and means at their command, have done wonders, whatever may be said. It would, therefore, be a great benefit if this review could be more widely circulated. It would open the eyes, and probably also the hearts and purses, of many who are now at the best but hesitating supporters of what should be one of the first objects of a Christian's interests.

(5) *Bibliotheca Sacra.* January, 1889. Oberlin, Ohio: E. J. Goodrich. London: Trübner & Co.

(6) *The Baptist Quarterly Review.* January, 1889. New York: Baptist Review Association. London: Trübner & Co.

(7) *The Presbyterian Review.* January, 1889. New York: Presbyterian Review Association. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

(8) *Missionary Review of the World.* March, 1889. Funk & Wagnalls, New York and London

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(1) THE series of articles commenced by Archdeacon Farrar upon Prophecy, and evidently intended for future publication in some work upon the Minor Prophets, is sure to attract considerable attention. The aim of the first paper is to correct what the writer calls "The Vulgar and Traditional Notions about Prophecy," and to practically eliminate the supernatural element (as the idea is usually understood) from the Old Testament prophecies, as the following specimens will show:—"'The burdens' or 'oracles' of the prophets on heathen nations, and the denunciation of their own countrymen, are based, not on any definite vision of the future, but on the unchangeable verities of the Divine government. They were always fulfilled in the spirit, is the general idea, because they were based on moral certainties; but in the letter, and in minor details, they are often falsified." "Inspiration is neither infallibility . . . . nor abnormal miracle . . . .; it is the inmost harmony of the spirit of man with the Spirit of God within the sphere of human limitations."

IN the *Morality of Nations* (2) Mr. Hugh Taylor applies the doctrine of evolution to the theory of ethics. He says it is "from studying actual phenomena that the sociologist sees the failure alike of theory and religion to affect (*sic*) any change in the general course of the world's movement, and is hence led to infer the operation of other causes than the hope of heaven, conformity to a moral law, or the reasoned and conscious pursuit of happiness itself." These are the principles Mr. Taylor strives to prove in his work, but although there is some acute reasoning, a good breadth of thought, and a considerable amount of learning noticeable in the work, we cannot say that he is successful. The work is constructed more on popular than scientific lines; and yet is too scientific to be popular, and far too vague to be convincing.

THE *Flashes from the Welsh Pulpit* (3) are neither very bright nor far reaching, they consist mainly of illustrations which show no great amount of wit, learning, or research. The introduction gives a fair *résumé* of the theological aspect of Wales, and there is an interesting account of a sermon by John Jones, of Talysarn, which gives the idea that manner is more powerful than matter in respect of Welsh preaching.

(1) *The Homiletic Magazine.* March Number. James Nisbet & Co.

(2) *Morality of Nations.* Hugh Taylor. Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1888.

(3) *Flashes from the Welsh Pulpit.* Edited by Rev. J. Gwynoro Davies, with an introductory paper by Rev. T. C. Edwards, D.D. Hodder & Stoughton. 1889.

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**Whitelaw on St. John.** It is only some seven or eight years since Dr. Whitelaw all at once obtained a foremost place among living exegetes by the publication of the *Pulpit Commentary on Genesis*, to which he contributed two introductions, the exposition, the homiletics, and indeed the bulk of the work. That valuable book has already passed through eight editions, and has commanded a larger sale than any of the other volumes of the ponderous series to which it belongs. And now the author himself has furnished conclusive evidence of the justice of the commendations which have been so liberally bestowed upon his former work by giving us this *Exposition of the Gospel of St. John* (1), constructed upon the same plan, and marked by all the diligence, erudition, and judicial thinking which characterize his *Genesis*.

In the "Prolegomena," which embrace fifty-eight pages, Dr. Whitelaw discusses with marked ability, candour, and logical acumen, the usual questions of the authenticity, authorship, composition, purpose, and plan of the Gospel. This introductory section, in common with the entire book, is a marvel of condensation.

The exposition proper reflects on its every page untiring industry, grammatical scholarship, exegetical skill, sound judgment, and independence of thought. Dr. Whitelaw has spared no pains; he has consciously evaded no difficulty; he has read and digested the leading commentaries on John that have preceded his own; and he can give a reason for every interpretation which he prefers.

The sermon outlines, which constitute the remaining department of the book, frequently exhibit remarkable felicity of textual division. Always devout, they are not pious exhortations merely, but popular expositions which are well fitted to make a congregation acquainted with the teaching of the Evangelist. While the treatment is uniformly logical, it is often also striking and memorable. No clergyman who undertakes to expound from the pulpit any part of the Fourth Gospel will consult Dr. Whitelaw's Homiletics in vain.

Taking this handsome volume as a whole its author is to be congratulated upon having provided both preacher and student with one of the most excellent and serviceable commentaries for practical use which have yet been written on this important and difficult book of Holy Scripture. We trust that Dr. Whitelaw will continue his labours in this field of scholarly activity.

(1) *The Gospel of St. John: an Exposition, Exegetical and Homiletical.* For the use of Clergymen, Students, and Teachers. By the Rev. Thomas Whitelaw, M.A., D.D. Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons.

Henderson, Rait, & Spalding, Printers, 3 and 5, Marylebone Lane, London, W.

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*MAY* 1889.

The
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# THE BEAUTIFUL GATE OF THE TEMPLE.

## A CHAPTER IN APOSTOLIC CHURCH HISTORY.

BUILT of immense blocks of beautiful white limestone from the royal quarries under Bezetha[1], a hill in the north of Jerusalem, and gleaming with gold and marble, the temple of Herod must have been a splendid spectacle. When Christ stepped within its precincts, at the beginning of His public ministry, six and forty years had passed since the Judæan king, in the eighteenth year of his reign, laid its foundation, as much for the honour of himself as for the glory of Almighty God. It stood upon the site formerly occupied by the temples of Solomon and Zerubbabel, the threshing floor of Araunah, upon the summit of Mount Moriah, where Jehovah had appeared to David.[2] According to Maimonides, this was the exact spot on which Abraham had reared his altar when about to offer Isaac, and Noah his when he issued from the ark, the precise locality in which Cain and Abel had presented their gifts unto Jehovah, and Adam had first adored the Unseen. More reliable is the information supplied by recent explorations,[3] that to it corresponds, either in whole

[1] Warren, *Underground Jerusalem*, p. 60.
[2] 2 Chron. iii. 1.
[3] Warren, *The Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 8; Conder, *Handbook to the Bible*, p. 359; King, *Recent Discoveries on the Temple Hill*, p. 192; Schürer, in *Riehm's Handwörterbuch*, p. 1,637.



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or in part, the quadrangular enclosure on which rests the modern *Haram esh-Sherîf*, or Noble Sanctuary of the Mohammedans. The level area on which Herod's temple upreared its polished walls and golden gates, marble pillars and glittering roofs, had been first artificially prepared by Solomon, and afterwards enlarged, in fact, doubled, by Herod. It was surrounded by a massive wall, in the estimation of Josephus,[4] "the most prodigious work that was ever heard of by man." Towards the north end of this area—according to Warren, "on the raised platform, paved with stone, from which now rises the well-known Mosque Kubbet es-Sakhra, with its beautifully-proportioned dome;" according to Ferguson,[5] more towards the south-west part of the Haram—the temple, with its cloisters and courts, stretched from east to west. It also was encompassed by a wall or "partition made of stone all round, whose height was three cubits," of "elegant construction," and having pillars standing upon it at equal distances from one another, declaring the law of purity, "some in Greek and some in Roman letters, that no foreigner should go within that sanctuary."[6] One of these pillars, with the above inscription, was recently found by M. Clermont Ganneau when inspecting an old wall near the north-west angle of the Haram.[7] The temple proper, or "house," was erected on the last of a series of ascending terraces, reached by successive flights of steps—an architectural device not wholly dissimilar to that employed by the Chaldeans[8] in constructing the temple of the Seven Spheres at Birs Nunrûd, and that of Jupiter Belus at Babylon, in the former of which seven, and in the latter eight, of such terraces conducted to a summit crowned with a shrine. As to outward appearance, the sacred edifice on Mount Moriah, if Josephus[9] may be credited, "wanted nothing that was likely to surprise men's minds or their eyes, for it

[4] *Antiquities*, xv. 11, 3.
[5] Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible, Arts*, "Jerusalem" and "Temple."
[6] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, v. 5, 2.
[7] Warren, *Underground Jerusalem*, p. 75.
[8] Budge, *Babylonian Life and History*, p. 23.
[9] *Wars*, v. 5, 6.

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was covered all over with plates of gold of great weight, and at the first rising of the sun reflected back a very fiery splendour, and made those who forced themselves to look upon it to turn their eyes away, just as they would have done at the sun's own rays," while to strangers who viewed it from a distance "it appeared like a mountain covered with snow, for as to those parts of it that were not gilt, they were exceedingly white." As the outer wall possessed gates admitting to the larger quadrangle or court of the Gentiles—on the west, four; on the south, two; on the north, one; and on the east, one: so the inner wall had nine gates, three of which, on the north, south, and east, allowed access to a smaller square, called the "court of the women," while from this again another gate, opposite the last of the three just named, conducted to the court of the Israelities.

It is uncertain to which of these gates the designation "beautiful" applied. Bengel and Alford, with Conybeare and Howson, follow the traditional belief that it was the gate Shushan of the Talmud, on the east side of the outer wall, which led into the court of the Gentiles. Lightfoot, Delitzsch, Olshausen, Schürer, Stapfer, and Geikie advocate the claims of what is sometimes called the Corinthian gate, which opened from the court of the Gentiles into that of the women. Ewald,[1] Lechler and Gerok,[2] with others, prefer the gate Nicanor, between the women's court and that of the men. Conder[3] selects "the entrance from the Tyropœon bridge in the south-west to the beautiful southern cloister built by Herod." Wilson[4] suggests a gate which was approached by a flight of steps from the modern Bab el-Kattanin or Gate of the Cotton Merchants in the west wall of the Haram, "a handsome Saracenic portal at the end of the old Cotton Bazaar, said to have been repaired in A.D 1336." In favour of the first, or Shushan gate, may be urged its proximity to the colonnade called Solomon's porch, which, according to

[1] *The History of Israel*, vol. v., p. 322, note 2.
[2] Lange on the *Acts*, *in loco*.
[3] *Handbook to the Bible*, p. 385.
[4] *Picturesque Palestine*, vol. i., p. 42.

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Josephus, was the eastern cloister of the outer court. Into this the crowd ran to see and hear the Apostles after they had healed the lame man, and near this a multitude was more likely to be assembled, seeing that beside it the cattle and sheep markets were usually held. It may be added that the designation "beautiful," as applied to this gate, admits of explanation on one or other of two perfectly plausible hypotheses—either that the gate was called Shushan, or "Lily," because, in commemoration of Cyrus the Liberator, a picture of the royal residence in Shusan, the City of Lilies, was painted or carved upon its panels; or that it was so styled after the lily-shaped capitals with which it was crowned. Whether this gate should be identified with the Golden Door in the east Haram wall is doubtful. The architecture of the latter proclaims it to belong to the Byzantine period, and to have proceeded, in all probability, from the reign of Constantine—Ferguson regarding it as the "festal portal which Eusebius describes Constantine as erecting in front of his basilica;" yet there is ground for thinking the door it supplanted was the gate Shushan of the Mischna. Besides, if, as has been suggested, the name Golden, *aurea*, originated in a mistranslation of the Greek term for beautiful, ὡραία, an additional presumption will arise that the modern gate occupies the site where once stood the Gate Beautiful of Scripture.[5] The second supposition, that not the Shushan but the Corinthian was the gate at which Peter's miracle was wrought, has this to lend it countenance, that if, as seems probable, this was the door which Josephus represents as having excelled all others which were only covered with gold and silver, whereas it was in addition constructed of Corinthian brass, the epithet ὡραία in its case must have been extremely appropriate. It was "a vastly heavy door," says the Jewish historian,[6] "which could with difficulty be shut by twenty men, and rested on a basis armed with iron, and had bolts fastened very deep into the floor, which was there made of

[5] Schürer, in *Riehm*, p. 1,637; King, *Recent Discoveries*, &c., p. 24; Wilson, in *Picturesque Palestine*, vol. i., pp. 69, 70.

[6] *Wars*, v. 5, 3; vi. 5, 3.

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one entire stone." It may well, therefore, have been styled "Beautiful" on account of its massive magnificence. Only it is not quite clear whether it is not the gate Nicanor that is thus described; and, indeed, the assertion that it is, is the main argument offered in support of the third view. An obstacle, however, in the way of accepting this opinion is that a beggar would hardly have been allowed to penetrate so far into the interior of the sacred enclosure as the court of the Israelities, though this, on the other hand, cannot be regarded as conclusive, since, according to Wetstein, lepers were permitted to stand at Nicanor gate. The fourth suggestion is by no means improbable, that the gate in question led to the bridge which spanned the Tyropœon valley,[7] and of which a fragment has been recovered in the so-called Robinson's arch in the south-west angle of the Haram.[8] This gate was certainly nearer the city than the gate Shushan, and as the bridge, at the end of which it was, conducted to the King's porch, the *Stoa Basilica*, on the south wall, it was likely to be highly ornamented, as well as constructed of costly material. The fifth proposal, to find the Gate Beautiful in a door about the middle of the west wall, does not appear possessed of any special recommendations in its favour. It is possible that future excavations may result in an exact identification; but in the meantime, the first or second of the above solutions may be provisionally adopted as that at which Peter's miracle was performed.

Repairing to the temple at the ninth hour, or three o'clock in the afternoon, the hour of evening prayer—for the disciples of Jesus had not yet broken with the outward forms of Jewish worship—Peter, accompanied by John, entered its precincts, it may be supposed by the Shushan gate, and passed in succession, or would have passed had he not been interrupted, through the Corinthian and Nicanor doors as above described. The interruption proceeded from a mendicant, a man of over forty years, a cripple from birth, whom

[7] Josephus, *Antiquities*, xv. 11, 5.

[8] Warren, *Underground Jerusalem*, p. 69; *The Recovery of Jerusalem*, pp. 94, 110; King, *Recent Discoveries*, &c., p. 87; Wilson, *Picturesque Palestine*, vol. i., p. 75.

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his friends had been accustomed, carrying, to deposit at the first or second of these Sanctuary entrances, in order to solicit charity from such as passed either in or out. Having asked an alms of the two Apostles, the beggar was invited by Peter to look on him and John, while he at the same moment fixed his glance on the beggar. "Expecting to receive something from" men whose eyes beamed compassion on his misery, and whose accents sent an invigorating thrill through his hitherto nerveless frame, the suppliant could only have been struck with amazement when he listened to the words which fell from Peter's lips—"Silver and gold have I none, but such as I have give I thee. In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, walk!" As if, too, that not an instant should remain in which doubt might invade his heart, the Apostle reached out his hand, and, having taken that of the beggar "with a firm, friendly grasp," raised him up, or invited him to raise himself. "Immediately," as a concomitant and result of his awakening faith, "his feet and his ankle bones received strength." Leaping to an upright position, "he stood and began to walk"—two actions he had never in his life before performed; "and he entered," with his two benefactors, "into the temple, walking and leaping and praising God"—*i.e.*, dancing about in unusual and perhaps extraordinary gyrations, as one might do who had suddenly become conscious of having acquired the new faculty of locomotion, and felt himself impelled by the unwonted and lively sensations of pleasure it occasioned to put it to every imaginable trial; and yet, at the same time, praising God, presumably in psalms and hymns, interspersed with brief and pious ejaculations, for a signal mercy bestowed on his soul as well as body.

Cornelius A'Lapide relates that on one occasion Thomas Aquinas paid a visit to Innocent II., arriving at a moment when the Pontiff was engaged in counting a large sum of money. "See, Thomas," said the Pope, "the Church can no longer say, 'Silver and gold have I none;'" to which Aquinas replied, "True, Holy Father, but neither can she now say, 'Rise up and walk!'" Whether this work of healing done

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upon the lame man was, as Baumgarten supposes, or was not[9] the first Apostolic miracle, it produced a profound impression on the persons congregated at the time within the temple and its courts, who forthwith crowded round the Apostles in Solomon's porch, where the healed man clung to them, as if unwilling to permit their departure. Solomon's porch was a cloister or covered portico which ran along the east wall of the outer court, on both sides of the gate Shushan, and overlooked both the brook Kedron and the valley of Jehoshaphat.[1] It had three rows of columns fifty feet high, and two walks thirty feet wide. The columns were each of one block of white marble, the walks were paved with variously-coloured stones, and the roofs were adorned with sculptures in wood. The porch was a survival from the Solomonic edifice, as the the Phœnician characters upon its stones indicated,[2] and received its name from this circumstance, rather than from the fact "that teachers of wisdom after the ancient Solomonian manner could there freely appear and gather hearers about them."[3] Inferring from what they saw depicted on the countenances of the onlookers therein assembled that they were regarded either as holy men who, in virtue of superior piety, or as magicians who by means of occult arts had restored the cripple to soundness of limbs, Peter, acting as spokesman, explained, in an oration not "fiery," as Ewald calls it, but spirited, that the miracle had been wrought by no superior ability or goodness of their own, but directly and immediately by the name of Jesus—their connection with the amazing deed having been limited to the humble office of exercising faith in that name; that Jesus whom they (the people) and their rulers had ignorantly rejected and crucified had been raised from the dead and glorified; that it behoved them to repent, and turn to God, that their sins might be blotted out; that Jesus had been the very prophet, like unto himself, whose coming Moses had

[9] See Acts ii. 43.
[1] Josephus, *Antiquities*, xv. 11, 5; xx. 9, 7.
[2] Warren, *Underground Jerusalem*, p. 61; *The Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 317.
[3] Ewald, *The History of Israel*, vol. vi., p. 360.

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foretold; and that God was even now sending Him, the risen and exalted Christ, to bless them by turning them away every one from his iniquities.

Meantime the commandant of the temple, having been apprised of the situation, came upon the scene. This individual was probably the captain of the Levitical guard, an office afterwards filled by Ananus, the son of Ananias, a high priest.[4] Along with the priests then present, who had just been released from their temple duties, he had most likely been moved to take action by some Sadducees among the crowd, who were "sore troubled" that the Apostles should teach the people, or vulgar crowd, the *Am-ha'arets*, upon whom educated persons like the Sadducees looked down, and much more that they should proclaim in Jesus the resurrection from the dead. Having apprehended them, the temple guardian committed them to ward until the next day; and so ended for the two intending worshippers their afternoon's adventure—they had left home to go to prayers in the temple, before many hours had passed they found themselves in jail.

How they spent that night in prison—for both a new experience—is not recorded, though it is scarcely a hazardous conjecture that, like Paul and Silas afterwards in Philippi, they prayed and sang hymns to that God "who giveth songs in the night," and of whom it is written that "He looketh down from the height of His sanctuary to hear the groaning of the prisoner, and to loose those that are appointed to death." With the dawning of the morning, it might be between the hours of six and seven, they were placed before an informal meeting of the Sanhedrim. That High Court of Jerusalem then consisted of seventy-one members, chosen from the chief priests and their families, the officiating high priest being president, from the elders, amongst whom were included both priests and laymen, and from the scribes, *i.e.*, professional jurists or experts in law, who mostly adhered to the party of the Pharisees as the priestly members commonly belonged to the Sadducees. On this occasion its composition

[4] Josephus, *Antiquities*, xx.; vi. 2; *Wars*, ii. 12, 6; vi. 5, 3.

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was not such as to inspire the Apostles with confidence that their case would be either fairly heard or honestly considered. Its president was Annas or Hanan—"Gracious"—the aged head of the high priestly house before whom Christ had been set for examination when brought by His captors from Gethsemane,[5] whom Josephus pronounced "the most fortunate man of his time," because for upwards of half a century he and five of his sons had occupied the highest ecclesiastical position in the country, and so had "practically wielded the sacerdotal power," but whom "the most unsuspected sources" compel us to recognise as "nothing better than an astute, tyrannous, worldly Sadducee, unvenerable for all his seventy years, full of serpentine malice and meanness which utterly belied his name."[6] Associated with him was Caiaphas of evil fame, his bold and unscrupulous son-in-law, who first suggested the expediency of Christ's removal by death, and eventually put the crown upon his criminality by pronouncing Christ guilty of blasphemy, and handing Him over to the Roman Governor for crucifixion. Other members of that extemporised tribunal were "John and Alexander, and as many as were of the kindred of the high priest"—a note of the sederunt, from which it may perhaps be inferred that not only Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea were absent, but also Gamaliel, Paul's celebrated teacher, who honourably figured in a later meeting. "It is indeed doubtful," says Farrar,[7] "whether any of the more distinguished Pharisees were members of the degraded simulacrum of authority which in those bad days still arrogated to itself the title of Sanhedrim;" but in any case it must have been far from reassuring to Peter and John to find themselves at the bar of the men who had been mainly responsible for their Lord's death. Nevertheless, in neither of the two, and least of all in Peter, did there show the smallest semblance of fear. Asked by what power or in what name they had performed the alarming operation of healing a forty years old cripple, they replied substantially as they had done to

[5] John xviii. 13.
[6] Farrar, *The Life of Christ*, chap. lviii. p. 639. [7] Ibid, p. 640.

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the bystanders in the temple, that, properly speaking, they were not the authors of the miracle at all, that the "good deed" had been done by the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom they (the inquisitors) had crucified, but whom God had raised from the dead, that that Christ had been the stone which the builders had rejected but which God had made the head of the corner, and that neither for themselves, the speakers, nor for their hearers was there any other name under heaven given among men whereby they could be saved. The courageous bearing of the orator combined with the lofty character of his apology fairly staggered the priestly conclave. Having ordered the removal of their prisoners, the Sanhedrists discussed among themselves the perplexing situation that had arisen. The miracle, they acknowledged, was undeniable; yet, if possible, the report of it must be promptly suppressed. The two men, by this time identified as followers of the crucified Nazarene, must be threatened and straitly charged not to teach or even to speak at all in the name of Jesus. So these sapient Sadducees determined, imagining that thereby they could arrest the popular outburst of enthusiasm occasioned by this miracle, an expectation as foolish as to think of extinguishing a conflagration by pouring on it a cupful of water, of rolling back the tides of ocean by a dyke of sand, or of dispersing heaven's artillery by means of a pop-gun. Hardly had they recalled their prisoners and announced their decision than they found they had entirely reckoned without their host. Without a moment's hesitation Peter intimated to them the decision at which he and John had arrived, at the same time adroitly expressing it in terms which laid on them overwhelming responsibility, should they venture to dispute it—"Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you rather than unto God, judge ye; for we cannot but speak the things which we saw and heard." Unable to discover ground for infliction of punishment, and afraid to proceed to violence without ground, in case of exciting against themselves popular indignation, the Sanhedrists repeated their threatenings, and dismissed from the bar their jubilant prisoners, who, immediately on gaining liberty,

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repaired "to their own company, and reported all that the chief priests and elders had said unto them." With one heart and voice the assembled brethren poured out thanksgivings unto God, the Maker of the heaven and the earth and the sea, and all that in them is, who had already so controlled and overruled the rage of both Herod and Pontius Pilate with the Gentiles and the peoples of Israel against His holy servant Jesus, as by means of it to accomplish whatever His hand and counsel had determined should be done; entreating Him to look upon the threatenings which were being hurled against His servants, and to grant unto them power to speak the Word with boldness, while He Himself stretched forth His hand to heal, and "signs and wonders" were done through the name of His holy servant Jesus; and scarcely had their supplication ceased when its answer came—"The place was shaken wherein they were gathered together; and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and they spake the Word of God with boldness."

The significance for the Church and the world of this striking passage in Apostolic history can hardly be overestimated. In the first place, the *miracle* was a signal attestation of Christ's continued presence with the Apostles, and therefore a confirmation of the reality of Christ's resurrection, which was then the principal theme of Apostolic preaching, as it ought still to be of the Christian ministry. The historicity of the record it is idle with Gfrörer to challenge. The reality of the good deed done upon the impotent man it is vain to dispute. The sole question open to the most advanced criticism is as to whether the effect was produced by natural or supernatural means. On this point the words of Keim[8] relative to the "healings" of Jesus may be cited. "These works first of all were no mere more or less medicinal cures brought about by actual medical skill on the part of Jesus, similar to that practised by the Essenes, as Rationalism is anxious to prove; or by magical jugglery and Egyptian sorcery, as Celsus, the Talmudists, and to some extent also

[8] *Jesus of Nazara*, vol. iii. p. 191.

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Reimarus and Renan, have held; or what is least objectionable, by the involuntary and voluntary transference of healthy nervous force to the sick, as Gutsmuths taught in the beginning of the present century, and as Weisse has recently maintained in his theory of magnetic forces. All these views are refuted by the fact that Jesus ordinarily wrought His works of healing simply and with surprising suddenness by His word, without means or instruments, without water or oil, herbs or stones, names or formulæ, incubation or even contact, without ceremonies or complicated processes of any kind; and that moreover we have nowhere any evidence, certain or even probable, either of a medical training of Jesus, or of His possession of a superior nervous force." With the substitution of Peter for Jesus, every word of the above quotation, with two slight exceptions, will apply to this and other "cures" of the Apostle. Peter certainly in this case made use of a formula and of contact; but not even the Sanhedrists suggested that Peter had effected the cure by natural forces resident in himself. Rather they felt themselves obliged, however reluctantly, to admit that "a notable miracle had been wrought," that it was "manifest to all that dwell at Jerusalem," and that they "could not deny it." Moreover, the close resemblance which this work of healing had to two similar works of Jesus of which as a court they had earlier taken cognizance—the healing of the lame man at the adjoining Pool of Bethesda (the modern Birket Israel in the north east of the Haram), and the curing of the blind man (perhaps at this very temple gate)—must have inwardly convinced them that the real author of the miracle was not the men before them, but the Man of Nazareth whom they had crucified. At any rate, that was the claim put forth by Peter. The miracle had been done by Jesus. To Jesus had he appealed for the power requisite to perform it. In Jesus' name had he commanded the cripple to walk. If all that was true, the inference was irresistible that Jesus of Nazareth was not in His grave, as perhaps some amongst the rulers hoped, but was risen as He had said, and as the Apostles then witnessed.

In the second place, the *sermons* of Peter conjoined with his

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noble bearing not alone before the crowd in Solomon's porch, but also in presence of the Sanhedrim in the high priest's palace, proclaimed that a marvellous transformation had taken place upon him (and probably also upon his colleagues in the Apostleship) since the days when Christ sojourned with them in the flesh. More especially did this extraordinary revolution show itself in the clear spiritual insight to which Peter had attained with reference to Christ's person and work and the significance of His death and resurrection, as also in the unfaltering confidence and fearless courage with which he confronted the enemies of his Lord and the opponents of his gospel. It is impossible in contemplating Peter at this stage of his career not to recall the earlier appearances in which his seemingly clear discernment of Christ's personality and mission, running far in advance of his companions, was nevertheless intermingled with much of sensuous and worldly expectation, which once at least drew down upon him the rebuke of Christ,[9] which often caused him, along with his co-disciples to misunderstand Christ's words,[1] and which up to the last moment prevented them from seeing in Old Testament Scripture any pre-intimation of Christ's resurrection.[2] Nor can one help contrasting Peter's present attitude with that he so shortly before exhibited in the garden on the occasion of Christ's arrest, and in the court of the high priest's palace while a spectator of Christ's trial. But now the last speck of mental obscurity has vanished from the disc of his spiritual understanding, and the last shred of weakness from the fibre of his soul. His spirit's glance is clear, and his spirit's nerve steady. Something must have happened to effect such a change upon "the man of rock," to make him in reality what his name signified. Before death Christ had promised that something would happen in the experience of the eleven, to enlarge their mental horizon[3] and clarify their spiritual vision, to deliver them from the last dregs of fear, and render them as courageous as lions.[4] After His resurrection

[9] Matt. xvi. 23.
[1] Mark ix. 10; John ii. 22.
[2] John xx. 9.
[3] John xvi. 13-14.
[4] Matt. x. 16-20.

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also He assured them that the promise of the Father should be fulfilled upon them not many days hence, and they should be endued with power from on high.[5] The latter of these statements explains the former, and both together explain the moral and spiritual revolution that had taken place in Peter. Peter's *apologia* before the Sanhedrim was proof that the Pentecostal baptism of the Holy Ghost was a reality —not for him alone, but for his co-apostles as well, and for the whole Church of Jesus Christ.

In the third place, the *dictum* of Peter—"Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you rather than unto God, judge ye"—announced that a new era had dawned for the Church of God upon the earth. When Peter spoke these words, says Pressensé,[6] "liberty of conscience was born into the the world never to be destroyed." Up till that moment liberty of conscience had been understood neither by Jew nor Gentile. Asa, king of Judah, and Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, alike imagined the consciences of their subjects to be in their keeping. Both alike believed it to be among their kingly duties to prescribe a religion for those whom God had placed beneath their rule, and to enforce it by pains and penalties.[7] Perhaps a plea in favour of the former may be drawn from the fact that in Judah Church and State were one by express appointment of Heaven, and that under a theocracy there is no clear standing room for liberty of conscience. But under Christianity the case is different. The dispensation of the Spirit is a dispensation of religious freedom. "Where the Spirit of the Lord is there is liberty" —not liberty, as before God, to dispense with religion entirely, or to select any form of religion indifferently, as if all religions were alike good, but liberty, so far as one's fellows are concerned, to follow the dictates of conscience, rather than the commandments of men in determining what is that true religion which one ought to embrace, what is that supreme voice of God which one ought to obey.

THOMAS WHITELAW, D.D.

[5] Luke xxiv. 49. [6] *Early Years of Christianity*, vol. i. p. 38.
[7] 2 Chron. xv. 13; Dan. iii. 29.

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# EVENING CLASSES—RECREATIVE AND PRACTICAL.

EDUCATIONAL problems, like the problems of theology, vary in phase and in points of pressure; and in each case the solution of one leads to the formulation of others. A few years ago the question was, How to provide for every child in Britain a sufficient and efficient elementary education? To this the Act of 1870 was an honest attempt at a reply, and by means of it a vast stride has been taken in the right direction, although much still remains to be done. The problem of to-day grows naturally enough in great measure out of that other; for the question which now demands attention, and presses under the severest pains and penalties for solution, is, How to conserve and turn to practical account the education given at tremendous cost in our public elementary schools? It is practically the same question on a larger scale as that which Sunday-school teachers have long been asking with the gravest anxiety—How may we retain our elder scholars?

"Nobody will deny," said Lord Derby, not long ago, "that the years between fourteen and twenty-one are the most important years of life." Lord Derby is right; and yet as a people, as a State, we are *practically* giving it the most emphatic denial. Those are the very years of which our educational system takes no account. While nearly every other civilized nation provides for the continuance of the elementary education of its youth, and especially for the technical training of its artizans, we, who have most to lose by such neglect, allow our boys and girls to run wild in the streets, and "finish their education" amid the poison of the pot-house and the penny-gaff. Their education proper, costing the country about £7,000,000 a year, ceases when it has really only just begun. At the very age when the mind begins to awake, and



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the bodily powers to develop—when a wise discipline and training are most needed and would be most fruitful—the scholars are permitted, both by law and by the public opinion of their associates, to enter on the work of life without any further educational assistance or restraint. The results are disastrous, and full of peril to the community. The little learned at school soon leaks away; the scholars are cut adrift without any real equipment for the work of life; and fall an easy prey to the temptations which beset the idle or vacant-minded. They have no resources in themselves; their homes are often dull and dirty; while the streets teem with attractions. The glare and music of the public-house allure them; they crowd into the cheap theatres, dancing and music-halls; in many cases they form habits and companionships which corrupt their whole life, or, at the very best, by early marriage wreck their own happiness and aggravate the miseries which arise from overcrowding and from the multiplication of the unfit. Nor is this all. The results from an industrial point of view are no less menacing. Vast numbers of our youth are growing up year by year to swell the ranks of the unemployed because unskilled; while, at the same time, the demand for unskilled labour is year by year decreasing. These are facts of serious import. They are the raw material of revolutions. They constitute a social and political danger of the first magnitude.

The Recreative Evening Schools Association[1] was instituted three years ago in order to bring these facts fairly before the nation, and to attempt to grapple with them. It aims at showing the necessity for night-schools, and tries, by recreative and practical methods, to make these schools popular among those who have left the day-school.

It takes long to awaken and arouse the public mind on such a subject; but the growth of conviction and sentiment in the right direction during the last two or three years has been something phenomenal. Her Royal Highness Princess Louise, the President of the Association, has taken the deepest

[1] Office, 37, Norfolk Street, Strand, W.C.

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interest in its work, and has stimulated by her presence at public functions and private meetings the interest of others. All the leading educational authorities are of opinion that the general aims and methods of the Association are on the right lines—that the weapons with which to protect our young people during their leisure hours from the perils of the streets at night, and to attack the industrial paralysis which arises from incompetence in handicraft, are to be forged in evening-schools of a recreative and practical kind.

The next step, therefore, must be to promote and facilitate such schools by legislative enactments. What is wanted is to make evening continuation schools an integral part of our educational system—raising the age of total exemption from day-school to thirteen so as to tally with the operation of the Factory Acts; and raising the exemption standard universally to the fifth or sixth, with the proviso, however, to meet the case of children of the very poor, that the last standard or standards may be taken in an evening continuation school, two years being allowed to pass one standard; and providing that there be two schedules in evening schools—(*a*) Elementary, for those under the sixth standard and under sixteen years of age. (*b*) Advanced, for those above the sixth standard and over sixteen years of age. In both schedules, with a view to giving an education which shall be more attractive, healthful, and useful for everyday life, recreative and practical subjects should be included. These proposals would have the effect of greatly increasing the number of half-time scholars, whose education should be better regulated than at present, and spread over a longer period. It will probably be found necessary, however, to exempt agricultural districts at present from the operation of any such Act, making it apply only to our large centres where the Factory Acts are in force.

In the meantime, the Association seeks to multiply and to make popular such schools as already exist by the adoption of the best possible methods. Those methods must be *educational.* Unorganised and uneducational philanthropy will do little or nothing to elevate the life. What is wanted is a distinctly educational element which shall smite the rock and



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make the waters of life to flow. The mind has to be awakened, to be fed, to be led on gradually to use its hands and feet, and to gird itself for effort; the moral faculties of attention and concentration have to be acquired and cultivated; and these can only be accomplished by systematic teaching. Desultory classes, however excellent the motives of their founders, will only be followed by desultory results. But at the same time the education must be recreative. If the school is not made thoroughly interesting, so as to be a real counter-attraction to the streets, there will be no scholars. The average boy of twelve or thirteen flings up his cap with delight when he shuts the door of the day-school behind him once for all. He is not to be caught again if he knows it!

Nor can we wonder, especially when we remember that he has to serve long hours in the office, the factory, or the workshop. At night he is tired; he needs a little recreation; and he will have it. The boy is right. Let him have it; but let it be in connection with an educational course which shall conserve the knowledge already gained, develop his powers of mind and body, and be of a sort to elevate and enrich his whole nature. All subjects may be taught recreatively, and in such a fashion as to bear healthfully and helpfully on the practical duties of life. By the teaching of drawing, modelling, fretwork, wood-carving, and other hand-work, the sense of beauty may be awakened and educated, and the whole being illumined. Fresh scope will be opened up for the mental and moral as well as physical activities, and pleasant occupations made available for the leisure hours at home. The practical value, too, of such pursuits will be obvious. The British workman is not wanting in *nous*, but what he wants is training of the hand and eye, and a wholesome hatred of bad workmanship. As it is, the English manufacturer is being steadily beaten out of those markets of the world in which he has long been *facile princeps*. The reason is not far to seek. The artisan who works by rule of thumb is certain to be beaten in the long run by one who brings a trained intelligence to bear upon his industry. The necessary training is given in Germany and elsewhere in compulsory continuation schools,

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while amongst us it is not given at all, except in the case of from five to ten per cent. of our scholars, with whom the continuation of education is entirely voluntary.

The girls, no less than their brothers, require a thoroughly practical training. Cutting-out, making and mending, patching and darning, simple millinery, plain cooking, and laundry work—all these need to be taught not less in the elementary school, but more in the evening schools, when the woman within the girl is beginning to awake, and to perceive the uses and importance of these things.

One of the most valuable and attractive methods employed by the Recreative Evening Schools Association is the use of the lantern. By this means lessons of a sprightly and attractive sort are given in geography and travel, biography and history, and in many forms of elementary science, such as astronomy, botany, physiography, geology, and physics. Weekly lectures on these subjects, of about half an hour each, are given by ladies or gentlemen who have the requisite knowledge, and the no less requisite faculty of *simple talking* to the pupils. Similarly, object lessons are given in chemistry, electricity, ventilation, food, and food supply, &c., &c.

Singing and other musical classes are formed, and, as far as possible, every subject brightened by music, while calisthenics, or musical drill, is introduced into every school at least once a week. This kind of physical exercise is a delightful recreation to those who have been engaged all day at monotonous work in hot and ill-ventilated rooms, and often in constrained positions. For girls as well as boys it is conducive to health and good temper, and is of high value, from a moral point of view, as inculcating order, precision, harmony, and the self-command and sprightliness which are invaluable in daily life.

Branches of the Post Office Savings Bank are opened in many of these classes, so as to encourage thrift among those who are just beginning to earn wages; and clubs, reading circles, rambling parties, visits to art galleries, &c., &c., are parts of the scheme in operation. What need there is for such agencies! Within a few hundred yards of Westminster

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Abbey and St. Paul's Cathedral, Lambeth Palace and the Tower of London, thousands of young people may be found who have never had the curiosity even to enter these buildings, much less to learn, to think, to listen reverently to the Voices of the Past, and of the mighty Dead whose names are there inscribed. All our historic buildings, museums, &c., should afford an endless series of delightful object lessons to our youth.

One of the most pleasing features of the work of the Recreative Evening Schools Association is this, that while it is wholly dependent for its funds on voluntary contributions (and has no small difficulty in securing them), its classes are conducted almost exclusively by voluntary workers. Those who have themselves tasted of the fruits of the tree of knowledge, and are permitted to enjoy the blessings of leisure and of culture, are invited to give an hour a week to their less favoured brothers and sisters. And they do it. More than 600 of such volunteers have been enrolled in London alone in the course of these three years. Many of these are engaged as teachers in day-schools, others in professional or business duties, or in the cares of home, but all have found that life's purest pleasures and dignities come as the spontaneous reward of unselfish service. But many more are wanted, both in London and in the towns and villages where local branches are started. The work, indeed, ought to be carried on throughout the whole land; and the need for voluntary workers is therefore infinite. The requirements, too, are so varied that we are justified in regarding this as one of the most important fields of service ever opened to the Church of Christ. There are vast numbers to whom Sunday-school instruction, district visiting, and other recognised forms of Christian activity are distasteful or impossible. Let them find employment here, each doing what in him lies to bridge over the gulf that separates class from class, to throw the shield of a kindly sympathy around the young of our land, and by such acts of Christian brotherliness to bring down from the region of the clouds to the common walks of life that Kingdom of God for which we pray.

J. EDWARD FLOWER.

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# THE CLERGY AND FREETHINKERS.

THE title of this article is intended to suggest the relations which ought to exist between the former and the latter, without, as to the one, distinction of denomination, or as to the other specialisation into schools. My claim to attention rests mainly on the fact that I have been long engaged in Christian evidence work.

It seems well to consider first the two positions implied. Until we recall what the clergy hold, and remember what freethinkers claim, we can scarcely determine what attitude we ought to assume. As to our own position: We believe in God, in Jesus Christ, in the New Testament; and while ready to accept and hold fast whatever scholarship and science may *prove* touching the history, contents, and authority of the several books of the Bible, we have already made up our minds as to the great historical facts of Christianity, and as to the supreme claims of Christ. It is important to recollect that though we are in some things gnostics, in some agnostics, our peculiar mark is, not that we know, not that we do not know, but that we believe. Nor is this all. We have constructed a system of theology on a method more or less scientific; we have developed a philosophy of religion on principles more or less just; and we have given to the world eighteen centuries of historical Christianity. But not our theology, were it complete; not our philosophy, were it perfect; not our historical Christianity, were it blameless, is the specific object of our belief. That object is Jesus Christ. Blunders in our science, errors in our philosophy, crimes in our history, whether discovered by ourselves or exhibited by our foes, furnish but additional reasons not for less, but for more belief in Him, as distinguished from the teachings uttered or the deeds done by others in His name. The Christianity of the Church needs for the preservation of its purity constant comparison with the



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Christianity of Christ. Again, it is not only a question of belief; it is also a question of trust. For while the faith objectively stands for the Christian revelation, faith subjectively is the condition of Christian life. It is a compound of two elements—belief sustained by the evidence for, and trust reposing on the character of Jesus Christ. But there is more than this. Objective Christianity is—Christ; subjective Christianity is more than faith, it is also love and obedience. And he in his measure is an opponent who fails in obedience and love, as really as he who fails in faith. I add one word of warning: let us beware of so treating the term Christianity as to make men forget that it is a Person they are to trust, love, and obey, and that this Person is God incarnate and the Saviour of men.

The position of freethinkers is somewhat difficult to define. Professor Huxley would, apparently, refuse the name to those who have arrived at any definite conclusions. But in everyday speech it is a synonyme of unbeliever in Christ, whether agnostic, atheist, positivist, pantheist, deist, secularist, or sceptic. These several classes have one feature in common, in virtue of which the term freethinker is claimed. It is antagonism to creeds. Every statement of beliefs, except as expressing the opinion of the moment, is regarded as unwise, since if we bind ourselves at all to the convictions of to-day we shut our minds beforehand against those of to-morrow. Some maintain that man cannot be held responsible for his belief, since belief depends upon evidence, and not upon will. Others, denying freedom of volition, assert that man is not responsible at all, belief and conduct being merely the natural effects of irresistible forces. And yet all, whatever their views of volition, apparently unite in claiming moral quality as thinkers. They say that to punish a man hereafter for any honest conclusions arrived at here would be absolutely unjust. And they hold that they have given to the world nobler ethical conceptions, a mightier impulse to progress, and a grander ideal of liberty than have entered the heart of the Church. As to the last-named, they say she is uniformly on the wrong side—the side of wrong.

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They also allege that even when least offensive she has, by her doctrine of other worldliness, wrought infinite mischief, confusing and perverting the obligations and duties of the present life, and justifying the infliction of all kinds of cruelty by supposed advantage to the souls of men. Moreover, they affirm, the Churches are split up externally into innumerable sects, and internally into antagonistic parties, and this to such an extent that we cannot find one body or party of Christians that some other body or party would not condemn as unbelievers, or at least as unsound in the faith. And, they maintain, until Christians make up their minds what a Christian is, and agree among themselves as to what constitutes a Church, sceptics may well be pardoned if they turn a deaf ear to all invitations to participate in the "Communion of the Saints." I do not specify the sources from which these statements are drawn, because I am sure opponents would not question their accuracy; but there is not one of them that I have not read in the literature, or heard from the lips of sceptics; and those which refer to the Church may be found in substance in Professor Huxley's article in the *Nineteenth Century* for February.

We now reach the main point, how we, who hold the first position, ought to treat those who hold the second. I will endeavour to indicate as clearly as I can the right spirit and method of treatment, seeking rather to correct our own mistakes than to expose the errors of our opponents; yet without hesitating to do the latter where it seems necessary to the former. The only standard it is possible for us to recognise is the will of our Lord; and the very statement of this obvious truth lifts the subject at once out of the region, as far as we are concerned, of personal antipathies, and smart retorts, and all the meannesses which characterise low forms of controversy. It is not a subject on which there is any difficulty in ascertaining what our Lord's will is—at least, so far as the regulative principle of the discussion is concerned. It is impossible to read the Sermon on the Mount without perceiving that the principle must be that of truth and justice set in love.

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The first question naturally is, how are we to regard freethinkers as to the sincerity with which they hold their professed position? It is a subject I would very willingly avoid, but in the presence of accusations on the one side, and of indignant remonstrances on the other, I do not see how this is possible. It is a pity the point should ever have appeared at all. For there is no subject on which an enquirer may be more easily mistaken. The outward and visible signs of sincerity or of insincerity are extremely difficult to determine. I have often met arguments so amazingly bad that it was difficult to believe that they could be honestly used, until experience proved that defects in logic did not necessarily mean an evil heart; otherwise the friends of Christianity would not always escape suspicion of dishonesty. I trust no one will ascribe this plea to "excessive lovingkindness." It would, no doubt, be pleasant to get credit for this not too common virtue, were it not for the implication that it is the heart rather than the head that speaks. It is not to me, at this point, a question of charity, but of truth and justice. I think that the clergyman who is ready to put down every illogical opponent as dishonest would do well to reflect how often he has used unsound arguments himself; and how possible it is that he may appear as insincere to others as others appear to him. Even if he has occasionally met sceptics whom charity itself would not regard as altogether honest, let him remember that it would not be difficult to find similar cases on his own side, and that absolute purity of motive is probably rarely found even in Christians until they have advanced within measurable distance of "entire sanctification." I know nothing in the world more difficult than to prove a man sincere—except it be to prove him insincere. If I heard any one say ninety-five per cent. of unbelievers are honest, I should be disposed to think it was charity, rather than knowledge, that uttered the words. When I heard a clergyman say, "ninety-five per cent. of sceptics are dishonest," I knew at once that it was neither knowledge nor charity that was speaking. For myself, I find it so difficult to be quite sure of the entire purity of my

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own motives, that I do not feel qualified to sit in judgment on those of other men. But I am bound to add that I have met sceptics often who appeared to me honest, and that even if they had appeared to be dishonest, yet, as I could not be sure, I should still have treated them as if sincere; and I have yet to learn that any other way is more likely to put their dishonesty, if it existed, to flight.

It is not, then, a question of charity, but of scrupulous justice. Charity comes in where justice cannot decide, or decides against. For to the honest man it is an insult to make his sincerity a question of charity at all. I entreat my brethren who come much into contact with unbelievers to denounce the vice of insincerity as earnestly as they can, and to do whatever they may find possible to make the sceptic's conscience loathe and abhor this worst of sins, but not to take it upon themselves to sit in judgment on individual cases. It is true that our Lord laid down the rule that a man's character might be inferred from his conduct; in other words, that a bad heart would bring forth bad fruit. But apart from the fact that the context shows clearly that it was not of sceptics our Lord was speaking, the principle does not apply; unless we assume that it is *impossible* for a man to be at once honest and unbelieving. I need hardly add that the passage in the third chapter of St. John's Gospel no more applies than does the quotation from Matthew. For even if it alleged, which it does not, that all bad men are sceptics, it by no means follows that all sceptics are bad men. Experience has confirmed a thousand times the truth that though light is come into the world men love darkness rather than light, because their works are evil; but experience does not confirm, neither did our Lord make, the statement that whoever does not believe is dishonest. Nor does the famous passage in Mark apply more closely than the two already cited, "He that disbelieveth shall be condemned." For even if the Revised Version had raised no doubt as to our Lord's having uttered these words, they must still be taken in the light of the passage in John, from which it appears that the

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condemnation is simply of those who, from evil motives, reject the Gospel, not of those who nearly 2,000 years afterwards are, from intellectual difficulties, unable to believe. There remains the passage, "He that hath not the Son, hath not life." This is, of course, absolutely true; but it does not follow that the sincere seeker, though a sceptic, has not the Son. On the contrary, so great a thing is sincerity, and so much does it mean, that I should take its presence in any one as a conclusive proof that the Son had already come to that soul. It follows, that while there is only one Saviour, and in the end only one way of salvation, one cannot assert, especially in view of children dying in infancy, that the process of saving requires for its initiation conscious faith. It is in the spirit of Christ to say that the sincere soul, turned aside by intellectual difficulties into "the wild and tangled forest," will yet pass through to the light beyond.

In attacking the position of the freethinker we are concerned, both for our sake and his, to keep whatever of good, reject whatever of evil, we find. We begin with the question of creeds. The outcry against these is not confined to sceptics. Many Christians heedlessly lend their voices to the chorus of indignation, not only against such documents as the Augsburg and Westminster Confessions of Faith, the Thirty-Nine Articles, and the creed called, or miscalled, by the name of St. Athanasius, but against the very principle of doctrinal statements. Now, first of all, creeds ought to be true; secondly, they ought to be as brief as clearness permits; and, thirdly, they ought to allow as much variety of opinion as is consistent with loyalty to truth. It is a manifest duty, when these rules have been wittingly or unwittingly violated, to reconstruct dogmatic statements so as to secure agreement with the conditions named. But it is unreasonable to say that there ought to be no dogmatic statements at all. Were that principle carried out, the whole of the Epistles would have to be erased from the New Testament, for if the dogmas were cut away the remainder would be unintelligible. After all, what is a creed but a statement of beliefs? If, then, we are to have no creed, we shall not be permitted even to say, I

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believe in God. If the intention be to restrict statements of belief, on its objective side, to facts as distinguished from doctrines, we reply that, in practice, this attempt always breaks down. How is it possible to state one's belief in any fact without having some opinion as to what the fact is in which he believes? The alternatives really are, admitting doctrine, or having no statement of belief at all. Now, the freethinker believes in the value of freethought, and he believes religion to be a hindrance to men. If he states these beliefs, he has a creed; if he does not state them, he dooms himself to silence as to the merits of freethought and the demerits of religion. Let him carry out his principle, and the world will hear his voice no more. If it be said, no man should bind himself for the future, I ask, what is the nature of the bondage a true creed imposes? There is no other limitation than that of its truth; and this is a yoke from which no one can honourably escape. Let us correct every real fault the freethinker finds, not for a moment refusing to follow the path of improvement simply because it is *his* finger points the way. But correction does not mean destruction; and abolishing creeds to get rid of their corruptions would be like committing suicide to get rid of a headache.

With respect to accountability for belief, the preliminary question is, will the freethinker admit responsibility of any kind? Will he grant that *conduct* deserves praise or blame? If not, discussion is useless. But if a man speaks, as does Professor Huxley, of *honest* belief, the result of *due* deliberation, we have, of course, a kind that is praised; and by implication there may be a kind that is not honest, that is not preceded by due deliberation, and is therefore deserving of blame. We grant, then, that those who speak of belief in Christ as if it were merely a matter of will are much mistaken; but so also are they who affirm that it has nothing to do with will. For it does not depend on evidence alone, but on evidence honestly studied with due deliberation—a statement to which, as I would like all freethinkers to note, Professor Huxley would readily assent. It follows, then, that if a man does not study honestly and with due deliberation, it is in vain to plead

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that it is simply a question of evidence. The jurors who do not honestly and carefully listen to the witnesses, or do not listen at all, who do not know the laws of testimony, and will not be guided by judges who do, cannot escape responsibility on the plea that a verdict depends upon evidence; for in their case it manifestly depends upon nothing of the kind.

As to the historical value of what is called freethought, there cannot be the shadow of a doubt, notwithstanding that freethinkers have sometimes rushed into infamous excesses, excited violent passions, and directly or indirectly committed or caused the most abominable enormities and crimes. But when we analyse the so-called freethought, we find that its revolt against tyranny was valuable, not as promoting ecclesiastical or intellectual anarchy, but as compelling the attention of the Church and the world to turn to the unjust and cruel restrictions which had been imposed on human thought and action. So far as it effected this, it was distinctly a force on the side of Christ; so far as it caused not correction but abolition of creeds, and not the reformation but the destruction of Churches, it was a foe to human welfare and a barrier to human progress. As to its ethical characteristics, the more the subject is studied the plainer it becomes that the so-called freethought was frequently much more in harmony with the spirit and teaching of Christ than was the hard ecclesiasticism against which it so strenuously fought. Not its least merit is that it has been the occasion of a greater breadth of freedom and a more profound sense of humanity throughout the Christian world; and has, therefore, helped to purify and ennoble the Church which it sought to destroy. It must not be forgotten, however, that many so-called freethinkers were believers in Christ. That the Christian Church has been frequently unchristian is undeniable, but no impartial historian will endorse the verdict so often pronounced against her by her opponents. When all is said, the debt of the world to the Church is as much greater than its debt to freethought as a mountain is greater than a molehill. Her doctrine of other worldliness, so far as it is *her* doctrine, may, indeed, have wrought great mischief; but so far as it is *His*

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doctrine, whose servant she is, it has wrought nothing but good. As to the divisions of Christians there can be no question, and a great shame and sorrow they are. But Christ is not divided, and freethinkers would do well to study Him instead of them.

We have employed the word freethinker as indicating a certain class of opponents, but we cannot pass without challenge their claim to its exclusive use. To deny our right as Christians to the title is to perpetrate an act of injustice. It is true, indeed, that we acknowledge Christ as God and Master; and that we will have no title that implies revolt against Him. But if Christianity be true, we have as much claim to be considered freethinkers as any class of men whatever. To obey Christ is in our view to obey the truth, and there is no bondage in that. For my own part, I am conscious of no compulsion other than that which the honest unbeliever would himself acknowledge—the obligation to follow truth wherever it leads. We must, however, concede that the word infidel is, perhaps, often improperly used by us. We ought to restrict its application to those believers who are unfaithful to their convictions. It stands, like freethinker, in the popular sense, for agnostic, atheist, positivist, pantheist, deist, secularist, sceptic, but it carries with it also a suggestion of dishonesty. Now, as it is not right to suggest by a name what we cannot prove as a fact, namely, that unbelievers as such are insincere, the word ought not to be used. It gives to the best of our opponents a needless pain. And to use unnecessarily any language which hurts the feelings of others is to be guilty of cruelty. In doing this, not only are opponents uselessly offended, but our Lord Himself is "wounded in the house of His friends."

We have next to ask how we ought to treat freethinkers considered as sceptics. We must be on our guard equally against the Scylla of approval and the Charybdis of disapproval. For whether scepticism is good or bad does not depend upon itself, but upon its object. If the latter be wholly good or wholly bad, it is not well to doubt, but to accept or reject. Similarly, what is manifestly true or mani-

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festly false is to be the object, not of doubt, but of belief or disbelief. Doubt is justified only where the real characteristics of the object are difficult to determine. These once decided, doubt is at an end. To exalt scepticism as a thing good in itself, and for its own sake, is excusable, perhaps, in very young thinkers, but in no one else. What shall we say then of those who, even in mature age, glorify doubt, *per se*, as a principle, instead of calling it simply the proper attitude of mind towards an object of uncertain character? The fact is, they have deceived themselves. Scepticism stands in their case for a creed, the number of articles in which varies at different times, and with different adherents. But the most prominent is always the same—I believe in doubt. There are, of course, no universal sceptics, *i.e.*, men who believe nothing. As Professor Huxley points out, there are principles upon which reasoning depends, without which reasoning cannot commence; and these, of course, must be taken for granted. Faith is the foundation of reason.

If sceptics cannot honestly take all they find, is that any excuse for not taking all they honestly can? I am afraid we are to blame here. The principle, that you must grasp Christianity in its entirety or not touch it at all, is, I think, unjustifiable. Our Lord plainly recognised the fact that there were certain things in His teaching which even His Apostles *could* not receive at the then stage of their culture. It is my profound conviction that our forgetfulness of this has greatly contributed to the increase of unbelief, and that our remembrance of it, if embodied in our conduct, would do more than anything else to bring sceptics back to Christ. So long as what are termed the damnatory clauses of the creed called Athanasian are interpreted as condemning to everlasting perdition a man who is literally unable to accept or retain the Catholic faith *in its entirety*, it seems to me that we are compelled to wield the sword of the Spirit with hands that are chained. I would say to sceptics, in this matter you would do well not to take these clauses of the creed as expressing the mind of Christ. Accept as much of Christianity as you honestly can, and not a word more; but do not fancy

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without trial that because you cannot receive Christianity in what seems its entirety you cannot receive it at all.

In a town in the north of England there was seven years ago a man of considerable intellectual power and of great earnestness, who was, or believed himself to be, an atheist, and who held the position of secretary of the local secular society. He opposed me with keen intelligence, and with to me, at all events, *obvious* honesty. I requested permission to write to him, which he courteously granted. In the correspondence which followed I took the position I have taken in this article, that one should accept just as much of Christianity as he honestly can, and no more. I suggested to him a plan which I have found useful more than once. Obtain two copies of the New Testament. Take one of them, and begin with the four Gospels. Read very slowly and deliberately, striking out with your pencil every passage you cannot honestly accept. Now put this copy away, and wait for a time until you can digest the result. When I heard that this had been done, I wrote to him again, and found, as I expected, that he had struck out everywhere the physically supernatural element, without its occurring to him to touch the morally supernatural. I then asked him to take his other copy and to mark in pencil every passage which he *could* accept. It makes a difference practically infinite which of the two objects a man has in view. For if the emphasis is on the things to be cast away, the things to be retained are scarcely thought of, and are, therefore, in effect thrown away also. In his second reading he passed over the physically, but accepted the morally supernatural. On examining the conclusions at which he had arrived, he began to ask himself why he had accepted the greater and refused the less. After prolonged meditation he saw that whether or not the miracles accredited Christ, Christ accredited the miracles. He is today a Christian. I think the other method—all or nothing—would have left him an atheist still.

Nevertheless, any attempt to pare down the Christian faith in order to make it easier for opponents to become Christians would be disastrous in the extreme. As a matter of

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course we ought to cut away all that we are sure is not true, and all, whether true or not, that does not properly belong to Christianity; but we must not add to or take from Christianity itself so much as a single hair's breadth. To say that the sincere seeker is not able as yet to take in the whole, is the opposite to saying that Christianity is to be reduced until it suits his present capacity. To encourage a man on a mountain path to climb as high as he can, is a very different thing from levelling the mountain to the point he has reached. I fear that to Christians of culture the true character of unbelief often disappears in the beauty of the language in which it is couched. I would remind my brethren that men are not saved by the grace of style, but by the grace of God.

As regards uncertainty as to what Christianity is, to Professor Huxley, and to all freethinkers as honest as he, I would reply: However desirable it is in itself that all Christians should be agreed, you are not as a freethinker, a seeker for truth, a man entitled to wait for that. (If I had come on certain lines apart from the context, I should have imagined I I was reading a plea for Roman Catholicism, or rather for some really infallible authority.) Permit me to say you cannot devolve upon us the responsibility of determining what in Christianity you shall regard as true. You cannot resign your function of inquiring into Christianity, and deciding for yourself how much of it you can honestly accept. Are you prepared to say that no man ought to be an unbeliever until unbelievers are agreed among themselves? Are you willing, as a matter of fact, to accept Christianity as soon as Christians generally are agreed among themselves? Will you then begin by accepting what we *are* agreed upon? I respect too much your loyalty to truth to suppose you will do anything of the kind, unless you have some other reason than our agreement. But if our agreement would not be an adequate reason for accepting Christianity, neither is our disagreement an adequate reason for rejecting it. And as we have already seen, the fact that there are parts that you cannot accept, is no reason why you should not accept what you can.

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But you have come to the conclusion that the problem of Christianity is insoluble. It would appear, then, that an agnostic is not a freethinker, since he is tied down not to attempt the solution of what he believes to be an insoluble problem. Is your treatment of Christianity consistent with this position? In your expression, not of suspended judgment, but of positive disbelief touching the Gadarene story, and in the doubt you throw upon the Gospels as a whole, are you not asserting your belief that the problem *is* soluble? Are you, then, really an agnostic; and if you are, does not your agnosticism require a new definition? Such are some of the questions which may, I think, be reasonably put to Professor Huxley, and those who assign the uncertainty as to what Christianity is as a reason for unbelief.

It will be observed that I have carefully abstained from saying what our attitude is. The truth is, I do not exactly know. My absence from England for some years back, while it has given me certain facilities for the study of scepticism in France, has prevented me observing as accurately as I could wish the set of Christian opinion at home. I confess I have read, with the greatest astonishment, Professor Huxley's remarks on this subject. I had absolutely no idea that the temper of the Church in England was at all so ferocious as he imagines it to be. I do not raise the question whether Dr. Wace ought or ought not to have used the phrase that has excited Professor Huxley's indignation. But Professor Huxley might have noted that the tone of the Manchester Congress, as a whole, not only manifested no bitterness, but showed, on the contrary, the greatest desire to treat freethinkers with perfect fairness and courtesy. If, however, we have the faults Professor Huxley thinks, the sooner we get rid of them the better. On reflection, I am not prepared to say he is altogether wrong. For it may be that, were the votes of Christians taken, including, of course, those of Roman and Greek Catholics, the treatment of freethinkers might not be wholly unlike what he predicts. But the vote of the Anglican Church throughout the world—and I believe the same remark may be made of Anglican Nonconformists



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also—would be given against the mode of treatment so eloquently denounced.

Be that as it may, what is puzzling beyond measure is Professor Huxley's apparent belief that the things he condemns are the product of Christianity. To me it is so evident that our virtues are of Christ, and our faults are of ourselves, that I should listen with less incredulity if Professor Huxley were to say that all the maladies of mankind were produced by medicine, for occasionally, at least, medicine does produce disease. There is here a confusion of cause and concomitant that in a man so profoundly scientific seems almost inexplicable. It is not our Christianity, but our want of it, that is at fault. It is not his unbelief that makes Professor Huxley himself so attractive; but that, in addition to his scientific genius, his keen logic, his imaginative power, his bright humour, his literary grace, he has retained so much of the profound humanity and of the ethical purity of the very Christ in whom he does not profess to believe. However little he thinks it himself, to us it is clear as noonday—that what he pleads for is that we should become not less, but more Christian. For this reason we cannot but thank Professor Huxley for every blot on our shield he discovers.

Our right attitude will become clearer yet if we consider some of the causes of scepticism. These often seem surprisingly small. I have had many confidential letters from unbelievers, and while some among these proved clearly that their writers had thought long and earnestly on the subject, others showed plainly enough that intellectual difficulties had very little to do with their unbelief. For example, one correspondent writes, "If I had always been treated by Christians as I have been by you, I should never have been a sceptic." Another tells how he has been wronged in business by Christians, and from disgust at their conduct learned to hate their creed. But in other cases unbelief had arisen from revulsion against the doctrine of eternal punishment; in others, from Biblical difficulties, especially in the Old Testament; and in others, from the character of ecclesiastics as shown in the history of the Church. Among working men I have met

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comparatively few who became sceptics for distinctively scientific reasons—for example, the supposed exclusion of miracles and answers to prayer by the uniformity of natural law. On the other hand, I have known several who became atheists because, as they thought, there was no evidence, by answers to prayer, that there existed a God who cared for them. On the whole I should say that, apart from our common natural depravity, the general causes of scepticism are the moral difficulties of the Old Testament, the doctrine of eternal punishment, the apparent absence of answer to prayer, the inconsistencies of Christians, the multitude of sects, and want of sufficient sympathy with popular movements. But that these are, in all cases, causes which actually produce rather than reasons that defend unbelief, would be too much to say.

As to my own experience, I have found fairness in stating and answering objections, the frank recognition of the difficulties on the side of belief, coupled with a plain statement of the immensely greater difficulties on the other side, an earnest insistance that conscience and heart, as well as reason, should be allowed to speak, and that the Holy Spirit would assuredly guide them if they were sincerely seeking to be right, the most effective method of dealing with all serious sceptics. The case is much more difficult when the scepticism is light, cynical, and jesting. But even here, though sometimes compelled to use a weapon that is most dangerous to the cause of him who wields it, when used on improper occasions—I mean sarcasm—yet I have found direct appeals to the better nature of my opponents very often successful. There is a large number, especially of young men, who seem to become freethinkers more from a certain mischievous levity, and a desire to become in a sense cheaply distinguished, than from anything else; but I have great confidence in the conscience of my hearers, which, when once aroused, makes short work of their levity. The most difficult class of all consists of those whose scepticism is, so to speak, guaranteed by the supposed examples of leaders of thought and men of science, like Spencer and Darwin, Huxley and Tyndall. They have never

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understood the difficulties of these thinkers, nor mastered the reasons of their unbelief. But to be on the side of men such as these is enough. I am inclined to think that "authority" of great names is to-day a more potent influence in the freethinking than in the religious world. I suppose it is nearly hopeless to convince those freethinkers who do not think that the fact that certain eminent men have become sceptics after much deliberation, is no justification whatever for the scepticism of those who have manifestly not deliberated at all. In such cases most arguments are thrown away, yet not all. I do not much care to put the examples of celebrated men on our side against the celebrities on the other. I rather seek to bring sceptics near to Jesus Christ. All their "authorities" become dwarfs in His presence. Our great hope, however, is that our words may be a channel for the influence of the Holy Spirit, and that the dormant consciousness of God may be wakened in the sceptic's heart. Let the religious nature be once aroused, it turns instinctively to Jesus Christ, no matter what the arguments against that seemed so mighty but an hour before. A strong belief that the roots, if I may use the word, of every man's soul are in God, a profound feeling of brotherliness unchilled by the ice of the sceptic's unbelief, an almost overpowering conviction of the need of and intense faith in the *Saviour*, a bright and unfaltering trust in the presence and power of the Holy Spirit, are even more necessary equipments than the yet indispensable intellectual capacity, knowledge of the nature and value of testimony, acquaintance with Christian evidence literature, and training in Christian evidence work. I will only add that not every man can safely breathe the air of controversy; and no one should dare the experiment who is not ready to pray day and night that he may not do more harm by his spirit than good by his arguments to the cause he seeks to serve. To him whose duty it is to come into frequent contact with sceptics, there is the most binding obligation so to live that men seeing and hearing him shall think of Christ.

ALEX. J. HARRISON.

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# THE EVOLUTION OF CHRISTIANITY.[1]

It must be a matter of regret to every right-minded person that this book was ever written. To the sceptic and agnostic it must be almost equally distasteful as to the believer in Christianity. The scurrilousness of Voltaire and the Encyclopædists finds no echo among the sceptical writers of the present day, unless we descend to a level which lies below the sphere of educated thought and the cultivated intellect. Regarded from a human point of view, Christ, in the opinion of those most opposed to His religion, takes rank among the foremost teachers of the world. Nor Buddha, nor Confucius, nor Plato, have won for themselves a pinnacle of fame and honour like that of Jesus Christ; nor is the result their teaching has produced upon the moral condition of the world to be compared with that effected by the preaching of the lowly carpenter's Son. To give but a single example. The anonymous author of *A Candid Examination of Theism*, while he feels himself constrained to write against the credibility of the Christian faith, cannot find words sufficiently strong to express his admiration of the religion he is doing his best to uproot, and his veneration for the person of its Founder. We are thankful to be able to say that the time has altogether gone by, when men, addressing themselves to thoughtful audiences, may venture to speak disparagingly of the Preacher of the Sermon on the Mount; and Mr. Gill, in daring to overstep this limit, has not done dishonour to the Son of God, but has simply published to the world the fact of his own arrogance and self-conceit.

We would gladly have left the book to the obscurity it merits; but, unhappily, in this age readers are many, and anything which has the appearance of novelty catches only too

[1] *The Evolution of Christianity.* By Charles Gill. Second Edition, with Dissertations. London: Williams & Norgate.



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quickly the public ear. *The Evolution of Christianity* has, we regret to say, reached a second edition; and, therefore, we think that a word of warning should be raised to put those on their guard who may be taken with the catchword of the title, or the author's absurd assumption of originality.

Mr. Gill's book divides itself into three parts. The first is an attack on the Old Testament.

"The Hebrew religion rests on the promise of Jehovah that, in consideration of national adoption of the rite of circumcision, the descendants of Abraham should occupy the land of Canaan as an everlasting possession. If, therefore, the Hebrew Patriarch could have foreseen Jehovah's violation of the solemn covenant, he would have, obviously, refused to ratify the fatal contract, which lured his descendants to destruction in the vain pursuit of a phantom empire; and the world would never have heard of a Chosen Race or a Peculiar People" (p. 2).

The author, after affirming that ancient Hebrew literature is nothing more than the unattested compilations of Ezra, Nehemiah, and a succession of editorial scribes, proceeds to collect those incidents in which persons commit acts unworthy of their profession as servants of Jehovah, or commit deeds directly contrary to the moral law. We are told of the sin which Abraham committed in denying his wife when he entered the land of Egypt; we are reminded how Isaac committed a similar transgression in Berar; the treachery of Jacob and Rebecca in deceiving Isaac is brought forward as an instance of God sanctioning sin; the murder of Sisera by Jael is narrated, and the Song of Deborah is duly commented on; Jephthah's rash vow is instanced as affording proof that the Israelites believed that human sacrifices were acceptable to Jehovah; David's sins are gloated over with malignant virulence, and the expression of his repentance in the fifty-first Psalm is stigmatised as unblushing hypocrisy; Solomon's apostasy is characterised as "liberal concessions to his domestic circle;" and these things are collected together in many pages, and dwelt on, as if it had not been shown a thousand times that it was not God's design to exalt even Hebrew prophets much beyond the times in which they lived,

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or the environment which encircled them; or, as if the most simple could not understand that the sins of individual men, even though they were God's chosen saints, detract nothing from the sanctity of the moral law, or from the unapproachable holiness of God.

It is, however, with the second part of his book, treating of the character and teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ, that we have most concern.

On almost the first page of the book Mr. Gill informs us what the idea is that he has formed of Christianity. We may pass by, as being the natural expression of the author's unbelief, the statement, that, on the threshold of his work, he is "arrested by the startling coincidence that Judaism, Christianity, and the Reformation, all originated in assumptions shown by the lapse of time to have been popular delusions;" but what are we to think of a writer who can gravely assert as a plain matter of fact that,

"Christianity originated in faith that the Messiah should reappear in the clouds within a generation, to restore the kingdom of Judah, or to establish the kingdom of heaven" (p. 2);

or to this astonishing sentence can add,

"If, therefore, the simple-minded communists, who parted with all their earthly possessions in enthusiastic expectation of the impending advent, had not been ignorant that nearly two thousand years would elapse without any tidings of Jesus, the supernatural claims of Christianity could not have survived the first century."

It had been our own idea that Christianity had its origin in faith in Christ, in love for His person, and in belief in His teaching; we had thought that men held to Christianity because they believed in a Saviour, who lived for them, and who had died for them; we had fancied that Christianity had been accepted because men felt sin to be a burden, and trusted that in Christ they might be delivered from its power; we had considered that the exceeding beauty of Christ's moral teaching, the principles regenerative of social life which He incidently laid down, had something to do with its reception by the Western world. It seemed to us in our ignorance

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that it was in such things as these that the religion of Christ was founded. This, we had imagined, was the religion which Peter and John preached; which St. Paul carried through Asia Minor and Europe; which confessors were willing to suffer for; which martyrs were content to die for; and which to-day is being declared from Christian pulpits, and carried to heathen lands by Christian missionaries. It certainly had never entered into our conception, before Mr. Gill told us the fact, that Christianity originated in faith that the Messiah should come again in the clouds, within a generation, to restore the kingdom of Judah. A notion, it is true, had gained some ground in the early Church that Christ should reappear, not to restore the kingdom of Judah, but to judge the world, and to take His saints to reign with Him in heaven—a notion against which, if Mr. Gill had studied to better purpose those Epistles of St. Paul which M. Rénan allows to be genuine, he would have seen that the great Apostle was careful to guard.

The third part of Mr. Gill's essay is occupied with discussing the question of the Resurrection, and with the manner of the "evolution of Divinity;"—that is to say, the mode in which, according to the author's thinking, the Christian Church gradually, during the second and third centuries, grew to the belief that the Lord Jesus Christ was the Son of God, the co-equal with, and of the same essence as the Father.

Into this well-worn question we have no intention of entering. The belief in the Resurrection was from the beginning one of the cardinal doctrines of Christianity; and the belief in the Divine nature of the Lord Jesus Christ, is traceable through the Apostolic fathers, and every subsequent orthodox writer. It is absurd to suppose that Christian writers received and adopted as their own the main doctrine of the gnostic heretics to whom they were bitterly opposed. If Irenæus was not persuaded of the truth of Christ's Divinity, why should he wish to believe it, and on account of this wish receive a gnostic gospel—the fourth Gospel of St. John? Mr. Gill raises one of his favourite side issues when he sneers at the foolishness of Justin Martyr, or ridicules the illustrations of Irenæus. But although the language of these fathers

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may not always be very sensible, it in no wise interferes with the main point of the contention, namely, that they did hold that Christ rose from the dead, and that He was the Son of God. But is not St. Paul a Christian father? St. Paul was a contemporary with our Lord; and if one thing is absolutely beyond contradiction, it is that St. Paul believed in the bodily resurrection of Christ, and in His Divinity. The undisputed Epistles—those allowed by F. C. Baur himself to be authentic—afford abundant proof of this position. We really need not trouble ourselves with Mr. Gill's (and others') unsupported statements, that the Epistles of St. Paul are proved by "internal evidence" to be interpolated in all those passages which it suits Mr. Gill to deny. St. Paul held the doctrine that Christ rose from the dead; and he maintains that the Lord was the Son of God as clearly and distinctly as the author of the fourth Gospel. There will always be unbelievers who deny what words expressly assert, and to whom no form of words suffice to carry conviction. But these persons deny that the Johannæan Gospel asserts the Divine Nature; and as Mr. Gill is not among their number, and indeed maintains that the fourth Gospel was a work published late in the second century for the express purpose of upholding the Divinity of Christ, in so far nothing more need be said.

Mr. Gill is lacking in all the essential qualities which a student of Christianity should possess. He brings to his task neither breadth of view, insight, nor power of comprehension. He is absolutely devoid of all reverence; he is a total stranger to any feeling of veneration; he is without any perception of moral beauty; the vision of purity does not appeal to his imagination, and the idea of holiness does not excite any corresponding emotion in his soul. He sees nothing of the sublime simplicity which is such a marked characteristic of the Gospels; and he can so little understand the charms with which the Lord Jesus Christ clothed the commonest objects of nature, that the parables of Christ, ever the delight, at once, of the simple and the scholar, are to him the "enigmatical subtleties" of Rabbinical casuists.

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The pity and tenderness of Christ is only "a feminine softness of nature;" His utter renunciation and forgetfulness of self are only a "surrender" to the obligations of an "impossible idea;" His willingness to die is but a "fanatical submission" to prophetic superstition. Pathos is a word outside the author's vocabulary, as the appreciation of self-sacrifice lies outside his mental horizon. He displays a want of ability to enter into the thoughts and ideas of those who differ from him which is astonishing; he manifests an absence of consideration for the feelings of others, and an indifference to wounding their most sacred susceptibilities, which is almost incredible. Cased in a triple armour of arrogant conceit, the book betrays on nearly every page a ridiculous self-opiniativeness which blinds its author to a possibility of error on his part. Even a writer in the *Westminster Review*, who might be supposed to be in sympathy with Mr. Gill's sceptical ideas and godless sentiments, is constrained to rebuke his profaneness.

But the special features of the *Evolution of Christianity*, to which we purpose to call more particular attention, are a lack of sound and cautious scholarship, a want of candour and literary fairness which causes rash and unproved assertions to be made, and a flippancy of style which we can designate by no other word than vulgarity.

Mr. Gill has naturally a great deal to say about the authorship of the books of the New Testament. The fallacious criticisms, now abandoned by the best sceptical scholars of Germany and France, are reproduced and placed before his readers as if they were still received as true, and had not been completely refuted. More than once we find him referring to the obsolete theories of F. C. Baur. Only it should be noticed as a curious fact, that the great critics are not referred to by name; and, for aught any one can gather from the book itself, the criticism on which much of it is based might be the proper and original discovery of Mr. Gill himself. The basis of the synoptical Gospels are the lost *logia* of St. Matthew. The original Hebrew did not contain such "mythical legends," and "ecclesiastical interpolations,"

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as the supernatural birth of Christ, or the visit of "anonymous sages," or the "grotesque" story of Satanic temptation; nor was the "gnostic" addition of the descent of the Holy Ghost to be found in it. Of course the author accepts as undisputed and indisputable truth the various supposed recensions of the Galilæan Gospels, upheld by Wiess, Hilgenfeld, Holtzmann, and other writers of that school, whose names, however, are not mentioned. There is no hint that the writer has ever heard of the famous comparison of M. Rénan, in which he draws a parallel between the four Gospels and four imaginary histories of Napoleon, supposed to be written by four soldiers of the Empire thirty or forty years after the death of their chief. "Pseudo-John," by which Mr. Gill, following the example of other sceptics, thinks it becoming to designate the fourth Gospel, is a "pious fiction" written by some "pious gnostic" for the deification of the Messiah in the last quarter of the second century. He does not seem aware that Rénan places, at all events in his first volume, the fourth Gospel "at the very cradle" of the second century, or that the learned French writer maintains that Valentinus and the other gnostics borrowed from St. John, instead of its author, as Mr. Gill says, borrowing from them. Candour obliges us to add that in his later volumes uncertainty revives in the mind of M. Rénan, and in a moment of irritability he exclaims, that "one can never touch the question of the writings ascribed to John without falling into contradictions and anomalies." Again, Mr. Gill forgets that in the critical sifting which Baur's theory has undergone, the date of the fourth Gospel has been receding further and further back in the second century, so that now hardly a critic with any pretension to fairness puts it later than the very beginning of that century, if not at the end of the first century—a date which pretty nearly coincides with that assigned by those who hold that it was written by St. John the Apostle.

So again, with regard to St. Paul's Epistles, Mr. Gill outherods the Tubingen school itself, appearing to follow the lead of some obscure critics who deny any of the Pauline Epistles to be genuine; pedants who have not sufficient humour to

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perceive the absurdity of supposing that genuine letters of St. Paul have vanished utterly without leaving any trace behind them, after having fulfilled their purpose in supplying shreds, and snips, and patches, for the use of forgers. But perhaps the critical acumen of Mr. Gill shows its greatest brilliancy when he maintains (or seems to maintain) that the Epistle of St. James, placed in the second class of inspired writings by Eusebius, almost rejected by Jerome, and with difficulty received by the Church, was written by James, the brother of the Lord Jesus Christ, because it agrees with the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount, and is opposed, as Mr. Gill imagines, to the doctrinal teaching of the fourth Gospel. Orthodox Christians can without much difficulty receive the Epistle of St. James as genuine and authentic; but it is rather droll to find a sceptical writer, who can hardly get himself to believe that St. Paul wrote the Epistle of the Romans, upholding its authority.

With regard to the question of interpolations, which rests on no MS. authority, and the proofs for which are purely subjective, we may content ourselves with reminding our readers of a fact which Mr. Gill apparently has overlooked. Throughout all this period of time the Christian Church existed, and had a widespread organisation. In every particular and individual local Church converts were being gathered in and instructed; catechumens were being trained in Christian knowledge; and throughout the whole body of believers Christian teaching was being instilled. Each Church was supplied more or less completely with copies of the sacred books, and these were constantly read publicly in their assemblies. In addition, many private members of the Church were possessed of manuscripts of their own. It was, moreover, an age characterized by much movement. Members of the Church existing in one place were constantly passing into other localities, where they met Christian disciples, and took part in their devotions, and in reading from the Scriptures. Consequently, all these assumed additions and interpolations were not so easy of accomplishment as the sceptical writers of Germany would have us believe.

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This is shown by the well-known story told by St. Augustine. A Bishop, in reading the account of the growth of Jonah's gourd, allowed himself to substitute *hedera*, the word used by St. Jerome for the established *cucurbita;* but he was instantly interrupted by his hearers, who would not suffer the change, and obliged the Bishop to use the word to which their ears had become accustomed.

If we could overcome our disgust at Mr. Gill's arrogant treatment of sacred subjects, it would be amusing to note how, to his own satisfaction at least, he settles subjects of the most momentous import in a couple of lines of inconclusive and erroneous reasoning.

"Although the Jews could not accept the carpenter's son as the promised Prince of Judah, they did not cease to anticipate an early appearance of the national deliverer. Jesus, *therefore* [the italics are ours], inferred that, although the day and the hour were still unrevealed, his second and glorious advent would occur within the lifetime of his disciples" (p. 260).

Or notice the number of fallacies and unproved assumptions which occur in the following lines taken from the same page:

"When we consider that the form and substance of these startling announcements are borrowed from the Book of Enoch, and that, contrary to the expectations of Jesus, nearly two thousand years have passed away without their fulfilment, we inevitably see in him the innocent victim of illusory dreams originating in the Messianic fanaticism of some unknown enthusiast, speaking in the name of a man who had been dead three thousand years" (p. 260).

Or again, observe the deliberate purpose with which the writer assumes that our Lord borrowed His Divine teaching from Buddhist sources through the training of Essene teachers.

"The genius of Essene Buddhism inspires this famous discourse [the Sermon on the Mount]. 'Blessed are the humble, the merciful, the peacemakers, the pure in heart. Blessed are they who hunger and thirst after righteousness, and suffer persecution for its sake, for great is their reward in heaven.' This language might well have been addressed to his disciples by an Essene sage, commending the virtues which they practised within the circle of an exclusive sect" (pp. 196-97).

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Yet Mr. Gill is obliged to own that there is not the faintest trace "in history or legend" of any connection between Christ and the Essenes, or that he ever came in contact with them. Also, because the fact is indisputable, Mr. Gill is further obliged to acknowledge that there is no scrap of evidence that the teaching of Buddha had penetrated into Palestine, or had influenced the Essenes or anybody else. The evidence is indeed all the other way. There were ascetic sects in Palestine, as there were ascetic sects in India; but there is not the slightest indication of any *peculiar* Buddhist doctrine to be found among the Jews. But Mr. Gill does not honestly say this. What he says is,

"We do not *yet* [the italics are the author's] hold any historic proof that Buddhist missionaries visited Palestine; and a learned treatise could, no doubt, be written in refutation of our unattested assumption. But meanwhile the facts remain indisputable, that, antecedent to the Christian era, an ascetic sect existed in Judæa deeply imbued with opinions identical with the teaching of Buddha, and that these opinions filled an important place in the evolution of Christianity" (pp. 188-89).

A remark of Mr. Gill on the Gospels affords another striking instance of his candour and literary honesty. Speaking of the original Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew, he says:

"This priceless manuscript has perished. Egyptian papyri, written two thousand years before the Christian era, have reached us through a natural process of preservation; but all the miraculous powers of Christianity could not save for us an Apostolic transcript of the Sermon on the Mount" pp. 166-67.

and, with a disregard for truth which is shameless, Mr. Gill adds,

"Orthodoxy suggests that Apostolic autograms were withdrawn by Divine wisdom to prevent their becoming objects of worship" (p. 167).

"What has become of primitive Christian manuscripts?" asks the author of the *Evolution of Christianity*. Every child knows the answer to Mr. Gill's question. The Egyptian papyri have reached us because they were preserved untouched

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in tombs and crypts;[2] evangelical manuscripts have perished, as the originals of Homer, Virgil, or Euripides have perished,[3] because men had them in daily use.

One other instance may be given, in order that our readers may understand the way in which this author insinuates what he does not dare to assert. On page 276 occurs the sentence,

"Paul, or whoever may have written the first Epistle to the Corinthians."

What are we to think of such a sentence as this? If Mr. Gill is not aware that Baur, not to speak of M. Rénan and more modern critics, accepts without question the Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Corinthians, what are we to think of his scholarship? If Mr. Gill is perfectly well aware of the fact, what are we to think of his candour in attempting to suggest to the reader unversed in such matters that St. Paul did not write the Epistle in question?

Whether rightly or wrongly, the great mass of the people of England, educated or uneducated, worship Jehovah. He is their Lord and their God. To Him they bring the tribute of their adoration; before Him they bow their faces; to Him they kneel in the attitude of prayer. His law is the rule of their life; His command carries with it Divine sanction; to His word they owe their obedience. He is their God. All feelings of veneration, all accents of praise and honour, all thoughts of reverence and love, are brought and laid at His feet as His due right. Men's aspirations after good, their desire to do right, their endeavour to lead honest and pure lives, are based upon the duty they owe to Him. The higher thoughts which at times pass through their minds; the nobler

[2] The papyrus Ebers—to which Dr. Ebers assigns a date of 1552 B.C.—"was discovered between the bones of a mummy in a tomb of the Theban Necropolis." Bolton: *Papyrus Ebers*, p. 4.

[3] There is a *fragment* of Homer dating from the first century before Christ. The oldest MS. of Virgil, in the Vatican, is of the third or fourth century A.D.; that of Livy is of the fifth century; that of Plato of the ninth; that of Horace of the tenth; that of Euripides of the eleventh century A.D. Obliterating and writing over—palimpsest—was a very fruitful cause of the destruction of MSS.

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aspirations which raise their moral being; the ideas of justice and mercy, of truth and self-sacrifice they possess—all centre round the shrine they have erected to Him in their hearts. With some few exceptions, to all men and women living under the civilisation of the Western world Jehovah is their Lord and their God.

And yet Mr. Gill ventures to speak of Jehovah as "a capricious Deity annulling the Divine blessing in response to a human curse" uttered by "an angry man" whose "alcoholised brain" "disposed to malediction" (p. 17); or as "some petty heathen God aroused to jealousy of man's ambition" (p. 18). He thinks it in accordance with good taste to insult Christian consciousness by speaking of God as tampering "with the human conscience by commanding the commission of crime" (p. 19), or by insinuating that "successful treachery may win the blessing of God" (p. 20). Still speaking of the Lord God Almighty, Mr. Gill enquires whether "Jehovah appears to greater advantage in dramatic revelation;" and answers his own question with a sneer.

"As Job witnessed the growth of a second family amid scenes of renewed prosperity, he may have been consoled for the loss of the dead; but it can have been no compensation to the slain daughters of Job that their sisters and successors were the most lovely women and the richest heiresses in the land of Uz, whilst they rested in tombs on which might have been inscribed 'The victims of the gods'" (p. 22).

Or again, what is to be thought of a writer, who, in what purports to be a grave and learned work, thinks it becoming to call the Lord Jesus Christ "the great Hebrew Thaumaturgist" (p. 242), or to speak of Him as assuming "with light-hearted philosophy . . . . the *rôle* [*sic*] of a popular Rabbi, or more humble meturgeman" (p. 196); in what school can a man have studied, or in what kind of society can he have lived, who does not think it derogatory, and a slur upon himself, to apply the term "lecturer" (p. 252) to Him whose greatness as a religious teacher all European scholars, believing and sceptical alike, acknowledge? What must be the habit of mind which can designate the Sermon on the Mount as Christ's "imaginative targum on the law and the prophets"

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(p. 196), or can talk of the "marvellous simplicity and ignorance of" that "discourse" (p. 209)? What must be the literary taste of a man, who, writing of the parables, affirms that "Jesus did not possess the critical acumen indispensable to the nice adjustment of analogous conditions disclosed in the fables of an Æsop" (p. 220); or can bring himself to say that "*we* [the italics are ours] participate in the surprise and disappointment of the disciples [!] as we see him borrow Rabbinical parables from the educational system of men whom he had denounced" (p. 218). But, perhaps, though the previous irreverence of thought cannot possibly be exceeded, the height of vulgarity of style is attained when the author gives us his interpretation of the parable of the Prodigal Son. "The parable," he tells us (p. 223), "is devoid of any instructive efficacy;" its teaching is to the effect that "idle profligacy may attain equal rewards with steady industry;" if we could but know "the subsequent history of the prodigal" we should probably hear of a "catastrophe which would, of course, materially alter the moral of the whole," and should find that even "his affectionate old father" lost all patience, and sent "the young scamp" who had "dined so often on penitential veal" back "to husks and swine."

Mr. Gill has made a great discovery. In fact, he has made many great discoveries. He has first found out that John, the son of Zechariah, a man who "had he been postponed to the nineteenth century" a magistrate would have sent to some "benevolent asylum," accepted "the fanciful illusions of his excited brain as the precious whisperings of divine revelation." Forgetting that he has already informed his readers that a quite different circumstance was the originating cause of Christ's religion, the writer now tells us that to this Nazarite hermit, "controlled by the hallucinations of ascetism," may be traced the origin of Christianity. For, led astray by an "imaginative interpretation of . . . . poetic language," he hastened to fulfil prophecy by proclaiming the kingdom and nominating Messiah. In a moment of exalted frenzy, he points to a Galilæan peasant, who had wandered from Nazareth to Jordan, as the promised Messiah. But the



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announcement of John, says Mr. Gill, had been too abrupt and startling to admit of the Lord Jesus "promptly accepting the *rôle*" [*sic*]. When He had "grasped the gravity of his position as the nominee of John the Baptist," He "naturally," as Mr. Gill thinks, "experienced doubt and perplexity" in considering His future career. The author then goes on to inform us how "he [the Lord Jesus Christ] studies Moses, Joshua, and Samuel"; weighs every sentence of Job, David, and Solomon; and so passes on, without result, through the vague declarations of the prophets, until

"his attention is suddenly rivetted on the anonymous bard of the Captivity, whose poems have been published in the name of Isaiah: 'He is despised and rejected of men; a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief'" (p. 253).

From His study of Isaiah Christ rises up

"with the sad smile of the doomed man upon his lips; we know that he has fallen under the dominion of that most pernicious superstition —prophectic fatalism—and will inevitably follow the example of John by fulfilling prophecy, under the fatal delusion of submission to the will of his father in heaven, as expressed in his reproof of Peter in the garden of Gethsemane: 'But how then shall the Scripture be fulfilled, that thus it must be?'—words of fatal import, which briefly define the true nature of the superstition in which the religion of Christianity originated" (p. 255).

Such a psychological analysis of the mind of Him, whom Christians regard as the Son of God, is sufficiently startling; but Mr. Gill's power of intuitive insight carries him farther still. He asks, if Isaiah forecast a crown of martyrdom, from which prophet did Jesus borrow the triumphant glories of futurity? On the writer's principles, we might answer from the Psalms, or from Daniel, or even from this same Isaiah. But Mr. Gill is ready with a much more subtle answer—indeed, it is the answer to this question which stamps the author of the *Evolution of Christianity* as a person of the most unequalled originality. Some considerable time has elapsed since the Book of Enoch was found and brought to Europe, and during all this period men's minds have been occupied, not with asking from what prophet did the Lord Jesus Christ

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borrow the triumphant glories of futurity, but in tracing out the parallelism existing between the prophecies contained in the Old Testament and the revelation given by Christ. But, so far as we know, although the book of Enoch is quoted by St. Peter and St. Jude, it never occurred to any one previously to Mr. Gill to find in this Apocryphal book the key to the understanding of Christ's future glory. This is Mr. Gill's brilliant discovery; we may also say it is the very cause of his book's existence, and its justification.

"If Isaiah forecast a crown of martyrdom, from which prophet did Jesus borrow the triumphant glories of futurity? We answer, from the visions of Enoch, which depict with glowing imagery the advent of the Son of Man sitting upon the throne of his glory" (p. 255). "This marvellous book—the boldest and most definite product of Hebrew imagination—was, in fact, the Scripture which supplied Jesus with his vivid conceptions of angels, devils, the resurrection, judgment, heaven, and hell. . . . It is to the book of Enoch we must turn for full and elaborate details of the Messianic kingdom, the Son of Man, the Elect One, the Son of God, supreme in righteousness, knowledge, and wisdom, pre-existent 'before the creation of the world,' and 'proclaimed before the Lord of all spirits, before the sun and the stars of heaven were created'" (p. 257).

Then follow words we hardly dare to quote, they are so painfully irreverent and profane. But they must be quoted in order that our readers may thoroughly realise what sort of book is the *Evolution of Christianity*. Mr. Gill ventures to write—

"How intense the perplexity of Jesus as he studies conflicting prophets! Isaiah has doomed him to ignominy and death, but in the pages of Enoch his career is a triumphal march. Both are inspired prophets, and therefore cannot err; but who can reconcile predictions mutually destructive? Days and weeks pass away in doubt and perplexity, preventing even a hint to his disciples that he is indeed the Messiah of the prophets. . . . At length it flashes upon him as a revelation. There are two advents of the Messiah clearly predicted: one, as Jesus of Nazareth, doomed to persecution and death; the other, as a glorified being, appearing in the clouds of heaven to take vengeance on his cruel enemies. . . . The warning

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voice of Peter was powerless to control the growing fanaticism of Jesus, and the severity with which he was rebuked finally silenced all the apostles. Thus Jesus became hopelessly entangled in the meshes of prophetic illusion, deprived of all advice and counsel which might have shown him that self-immolation, in harmony with the fanciful utterance of an ancient bard, was a form of suicide irreconcilable with the purpose of a beneficent deity" (p. 257-59).

As a matter of course, the miracles of Christ offer to Mr. Gill a fitting subject for sneers and ridicule. They are to him "actions susceptible of imitation by any dexterous juggler," and "scoffers," he tells us, might define them as "mere sleight of hand." "How deplorable," he exclaims, "that Jesus could not rise above the pernicious superstition of demoniac possession!" and he does not hesitate to call our Lord, in irony, a "supernatural physician." We do not care to follow the author through his pages of ribaldry, in which he talks of the "monstrous combination of the human and diabolical," of "the marvellous fish and wondrous crab" "of private resurrections," and asks why Lazarus did not travel as a "public lecturer" from city to city, detailing the wonders of the unknown region where the spirits of the departed dwell. Sceptics far better qualified than Mr. Gill have already discussed the subject of miracles a thousand times, and have a thousand times been answered. Two writers satisfy our own mind as to the possibility and credibility of miracles. Dean Mansel proves their possibility to all those who believe in a personal God. At early dawn a stone lies on the sea-shore a hundred feet below the level of the cliff. At noon it rests on the cliff's top. It has got there in spite of the law of gravitation. A man, acting in the good pleasure of his will, overcame the force of gravity by the exercise of other physical laws, and carried it thither. May not God, working in the exercise of His will, not contrary to, but in accordance with, the laws which He has set creation, do what lies beyond our power to effect, or our knowledge to explain? An anonymous writer has shown the credibility of miracles. Miracles are contrary to experience. Undoubtedly, or they would not be miracles. If miracles had been matters of

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everyday experience, they would have been valueless for the purpose for which they were manifested. Miracles are almost unique in human history, because the appearance of the Lord Jesus Christ in human form was a unique experience in the world's story.

It would have been well if, instead of carping at words which the civilised world has accepted as words of wisdom, the author of this book had laid to heart the profound saying of Christ, that it is only men of childlike spirit who can enter into His kingdom. Mr. Gill will fail to perceive any depth at all in this word of the Lord Jesus. To him it will appear as the ignorant expression of a Jewish peasant's folly. Yet it is only in this childlike spirit that faith can be comprehended. Whether a man accept or reject the religion of Christ, he is unqualified to pass any verdict upon it, unless he can understand what faith—the principle on which it is founded—means and implies. He need not to receive faith, but he must understand its meaning. But to Mr. Gill faith is what colour is to a man born blind, or it is as if one, to whom a simple melody seems the highest effect of music, should venture to criticise the harmonies of Beethoven. The author of this book lacks the sense by which alone the religion of Christ can be apprehended. Therefore all his criticisms are idle and worthless; therefore does what a great classic of the day has called "the unconscious simplicity of the Gospels" appear to him as foolishness. There are many sceptical writers, who, though they are unable to receive Christ as their Lord and Master, have yet felt themselves constrained to bow down before a wisdom which, even to them, is all the greater on account of the garb of simplicity in which the great Teacher has clothed it. But Mr. Gill is not one of these. Consequently, to all earnest thinkers his book is worthless; and although, perhaps, persons whose minds are cast in the same mould as his own, may mistake his jibes for wit, and may accept his sneers as proofs of superior wisdom, men of higher, and therefore, of more humble spirit will turn away from its perusal with feelings of mingled astonishment and disgust.

H. N. BERNARD.

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# CURRENT POINTS AT ISSUE.

## EVANESCENT ASTRONOMY.

WHAT more permanent than the stars! What more fleeting than the theories concerning them! Just now the nebulæ are exercising the minds of astronomers, as indeed they have been for some time past. This is, of course, necessarily the case, as until we know what the nebulæ are, we are bound to conjecture; our only objection is that these conjectures have been put forward from time to time with too much the air of finality, as though the mystery were at last solved. They have been known for many years as cloud-like patches in the sky, and believed to be different in nature from the fixed stars. The first distinct observations were made by Sir William Herschell, who believed them to consist of a nebulous fluid. Lord Rosse, however, brought his more powerful telescope to bear upon them, and resolved some of them into bright points, which were affirmed to be undoubtedly stars. Some nebulæ still remained unresolved, but this was attributed to their greater distance; no doubt, however, was entertained that if we had a sufficiently strong optical power they all would be resolved into systems of worlds. As the spectroscope has toppled over many guesses, so it overturned this, for when Dr. Huggins brought his spectroscope to bear on one of the planetary nebulæ, he was amazed to find it give a bright line only, others gave two or three lines, which proved that they were not distant stars, or stars at all, but only masses of glowing gas or vapour. The stars give a continuous spectrum interspersed by dark bands, showing that they are surrounded by an incandescent atmosphere, in which exist the absorbent vapours of different metals. Mr. Norman Lockyer, however, contributes a brilliant paper to *Harper's*



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*Monthly Magazine*, in which he attempts to prove that this also is a mistake, and that they, "like comets, consist of meteorites, and that they are neither very distant clusters of stars, nor masses of gas." This is all very well, learned and interesting; and will, no doubt, aid the progress of astronomy and increase our knowledge of the stars. All we protest against is that these nebular and other hypotheses should be made the test of the inspiration of the Bible. We yield to none in our admiration of the labours of these ardent students, and are, therefore, all the more anxious that they should not mar their work nor distract their thoughts by premature excursions into the realms of theology. Even here Mr. Lockyer drags in "evolution" and "species" by sheer physical force. He calls his article "The Origin of Celestial Species." We might as well name the solid, fluid, and gaseous conditions of iron as different species of iron. This is not science; and where does evolution come in? We are told in the following sentence, which is difficult of comprehension, "All celestial forms are due to an exquisitely simple evolution of matter in the form of meteoric dust." We fear there is nebulosity nearer than the stars.

## MRS. HUMPHRY WARD'S THEOLOGIANS.

In the year 1881 the Bishop of Salisbury preached the Bampton Lecture, his subject having been "The One Religion." Mrs. Ward heard the first lecture, which displeased her exceedingly, because the lecturer did not go nearly far enough in her direction, and also because he appeared to unite sin with unbelief far too closely. Immediately, without waiting for the remaining lectures, she published a "Protest." The circulation was at that time stopped; but the Protest has now re-appeared in a recent number of the *North American Review*. It is chiefly interesting as containing the genesis of the two interesting young men, with whom we are now tolerably familiar, under different names. We are also familiar with their theological discussions and widening differences. They were created to refute a sup-

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posed unfairness on the part of the Bishop, whom she charges with accounting for almost an unbelief by "self-indulgence and vanity." This, however, is unfair to the lecturer, who said most clearly in this very lecture, "we know that there is much sincere perplexity . . . and that from the time of Job a sense of revolt against the dispensations of God has been felt in certain moments by many a true heart that loved righteousness." This is neither denied nor doubted by any student of human nature; it is a fact that calls for truest sympathy and prayerful help on the part of an earnest, honest thinker.

The strange part of the story, however, is that she makes these theological differences arise primarily, not from intellectual convictions, but from varying temperaments. "A. is naturally of a more fearless and positive temper, liberal in politics, ardent for reforms." He is guided by his bias till he arrives—where? At the questions, "Is there really no rest in God, no peace in Christ? Is death the end?" If his temperament be only of the ordinary kind, Mrs. Ward thinks he will probably become an agnostic. But if he be more than usually strong, he will perhaps come to believe in "a possibility," and that possibility will be—God. In this *possibility* he will find "rest and permanence!" He will "have replaced a Christianity of one type with the Christianity of another." That other will be a Christianity without the Christ who said that the Holy Spirit would convict the world of sin because they believed not on Him. Poor A. will have but little reason to bless the temperament that drove him to a desert so dreary as this. The temperament of C. differs much from that of A. He is "slower and more timid, with a bias against change, strengthened, perhaps, by the politics of his family." To him, at last, there is "nothing less free than thought." Poor plight for both unfortunates!

All this, and much more of the same kind, might be allowed to pass without notice, were it not for the fact of our being informed that "it will be best for her in the future to confine herself, wholly or mainly, to that type of writing which has already won her a hearing." There cannot be any

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doubt about the general reading of our authoress. We respect most heartily her evident sincerity; her wish to keep the noblest and the truest in man; and yet we are sorry for her decision, believing her not the most fitted for the task she has undertaken.

If, however, she does proceed to fresh discussions, may we ask for a little clearer thought, better definitions, a more adequate notion of the nature of Christianity, and a little freshness in her disputants? A. and C. are all very well, but when they come again as D. and E. we have had enough of them, and must hope there will not be a continuation of the alphabet. Above all things, if there is to be another fight, we trust it will be between equals, and not between an unbelieving giant and a Christian dwarf. Fair play is a jewel.

## PROFESSOR HUXLEY ON THE BIBLE.

Professor Huxley's position in relation to Scripture is very peculiar. Read some of his opinions regarding it, and he might be mistaken for a most devout believer; read others, and they present him as a most determined opponent. So long ago as 1870 he asked, after glowing eulogies on the Bible, "By the study of what other book could children be so much humanised, and made to feel that each figure in that vast historical procession fills, like themselves, but a momentary space in the interval between two eternities?" and more in the same strain. That he has not changed in this respect is shown in his reply to Dr. Wace in the *Nineteenth Century* for April. He there states, "I have always advocated the reading of the Bible, and the diffusion of the study of that most remarkable collection of books amongst the people." "It is so clear that the only immediate and ready antidote to the poison which has been mixed with Christianity, to the intoxication and delusion of mankind, lies in copious draughts from the undefiled spring." Had he stopped here, all would have been well; but will it be believed that in this very same article he calls St. John's

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Gospel "a theosophic romance of the first order"? He does his best to show that Christ never preached the "Sermon on the Mount," nor uttered what is known as the "Lord's Prayer." He will not reject the idea of Christ's resuscitation after a prolonged swoon, but discards all thought of a resurrection from death. The dissecting-knife is so freely applied to the records of Christ's life that we have no longer a symmetric form before us, but a mangled mass of fragments. We would therefore ask, most deferentially, where is the "undefiled spring" to be found, at least by those who have not the Professor's culture? One might say, "Surely that beautiful silver stream, bright with all its 'blesseds,' is the spring where I am to drink." No, says the Professor, not there; Mark does not relate it, so Christ cannot have said it. Is this not somewhat cruel, to ask "the people" to drink, and then tell them they cannot possibly know what to drink till they ("the people") have mastered the latest results of the "Higher Criticism"? This inconsistency, not uncommon in many minds, is between thought and feeling, and is evidence how much our hearts need the story of the Cross. Criticism may lead some minds to doubt details, but the heart feels that its longings can only be satisfied by a some one more than man, and so these sceptics cling to the Christ, even in their very rejection of Him.

## OUR GREAT SALVATION AND OUR LITTLE EARTH.

Old at least as the time of David is the thought, "When I consider Thy heavens, the work of Thy fingers, what is man that Thou art mindful of him?" If that were the natural feeling of the Psalmist when he imagined that the earth was the centre of the universe, how much more pressing does it become now, when our little world is placed in her right position, as a very small orb indeed amid countless mightier ones? If "geocentric" Christianity were improbable, how much more improbable becomes "heliocentric" Christianity. On the first blush the difficulty does not seem

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strange; it has presented itself to many minds, and has called forth many replies. The exceeding greatness of the sacrifice involved in our Christianity, as compared with the insignificance of the earth where the cross was raised, causes the doubt. Dr. Freeman suggests a most interesting reply in the *Contemporary Review* for April. His answer is an expansion of St. Paul's words, "God chose the weak things of the world, that He might put to shame the things that are strong." Many illustrations are given to show how true this is in the realm of the physical. For example, man himself has less of physical resource in his own person than almost any other animal, and yet he, by reason and speech, has become the strongest of all in some respects. A germ floating in the air may, however, take possession of his body, fill him with disease, and lay him in the grave. So says Dr. Freeman, "If a world that is physically very small among worlds should really, in some sense other than physical, hold the first place among worlds much bigger than itself, such a state of things is in perfect agreement with what experience tells us is the ordinary course of things in that one world of which we know something." We have long been convinced that the solution of the difficulty lies in the character of the human inhabitants of this earth. The earth itself must share the fate of other worlds, and die in the general death of all, as foretold alike by science and by Scripture. Man, however, is not to die, but live. It was for the soul of man the Great Sacrifice was offered, and what relation has soul to bulk, or to the size of suns? We do not value intellect by weight, but worth. A human soul formed in the image of the Creator, a soul to live for ever, and grow eternally in spirit power, outweighs in value a hundred universes of matter, let that soul be located where it may, on a globe large or small. Carefully compare an immortality of happiness for countless souls, with the Cross of Calvary, by which that result has been obtained, and the sense of disproportion will vanish, and the consciousness of loving harmony will take its place.

JAMES MCCANN.

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# CURRENT LITERATURE.

**Commentaries.** DR. PAYNE SMITH has already done good work as a commentator, but, in our judgment, this (1) is a perceptible advance upon any of his previous publications. For confidence of movement and thoroughness of treatment, for evident enjoyment of his theme and mastery of detail, this exposition will not easily be surpassed. And we have also the reverent scholarship and critical acumen which this author always shows. No preacher desiring an intelligent acquaintance with Holy Scripture need look farther for a commentary on the Second Book of Samuel than the one which the Dean of Canterbury has provided. The *Introduction* gives a sketch of David's life, abounding in subtle lines and delicate discrimination that only long pondering over the history could have furnished. Now and again the exposition reveals flashes of spiritual insight, especially as it points out the Divine dealings with the king. To 1 *Samuel* Dean Payne Smith contributed not only the Exposition but the Homiletics as well. In the present volume he has confined himself to the former, but he frequently adds homiletic hints to his commentary, brief, but wise and pertinent. Professor Chapman prefixes generally to his *Homiletics* a short survey of the "facts" with which he deals. Often he takes a different view of them from that of the Exposition. The lessons he draws are usually suggestive and skilfully put; and if one should agree rather with the Dean's interpretation, it is easy to make the necessary alteration. The evidence of independent study is itself valuable, and the choice of interpretations helpful to the preacher. The number of homilists is assuredly too small. But they cover their ground very fairly, and each has distinctive characteristics. Mr. B. Dale writes upon nearly the entire book, preferring, as his text, sections to passages. Mr. G. Wood selects particular texts as they commend themselves to him. Both are fresh and thoughtful. Altogether, this is one of the most satisfactory volumes in the Old Testament series.

*From Adam to Abraham; or, Lessons on the First Fourteen Chapters of Genesis* (2) is too realistic and mechanical for present-day teaching. Difficulties are intentionally avoided.



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DR. WEISS, in the second volume of his *Introduction to the New Testament* (3), has taken for his subject the non-Pauline Epistles, the Gospels, and the Acts. The Epistle to the Hebrews, Dr. Weiss thinks, was written by a disciple of the primitive Apostles, and addressed to the Hebrew-speaking Jews of Palestine, about A.D. 66, at a time when a severe crisis was at an end. The Apocalypse (we follow his order), as recent criticism would lead us to expect, is placed early in A.D. 70, at a time when such a work had become necessary to strengthen the faith of the Church in consequence of a decline in the expectation of the Second Coming. James wrote after the middle of the year 50 to believers whose Christianity was immature. The authenticity and canonicity of the Epistle of Jude are unquestionable; the time of writing it was A.D. 60, although 62 is generally regarded as the earliest date. It preceded 2 Peter. 1 Peter is undoubtedly genuine. It was addressed to Jewish Christian Churches before Gentile Christianity had gained ascendancy in Asia Minor, therefore before 55 or 56. 2 Peter was written about ten years afterwards to the same readers, a Gentile element having meanwhile grown up as an effect of Pauline preaching. We have no means of knowing the circumstances which prevented the early and general recognition of its canonicity. The three Epistles of John undoubtedly proceed from the author of the Fourth Gospel; the second was addressed to a Church under the guise of a Christian matron. Space does not permit us to give details of his arguments respecting the origin of the Gospels, especially of the Synoptics; but it does not appear to us to be satisfactory. It may be summarised thus: St. Matthew originally wrote in Aramaic (A.D. 67); a translation into Greek was made by him or by some one else in the following year; this formed one of the authorities for our Gospels. St. Mark, with this document before him, and with his recollections of what he had read from Peter, wrote the second Gospel, A.D. 69. Our present first Gospel was compiled from the Greek Matthew and from Mark's manuscript, A.D. 71. St. Luke wrote from original sources, the original Matthew and our present Mark, A.D. 80. Now is not all this too complicated to be natural and probable? Dr. Weiss will at any rate command great respect for his opinions, based as they are on thorough research, sound scholarship, and real fairness.

A valuable addition to the excellent series of commentaries, known as the Expositor's Bible, is made by Mr. Findlay of Heading-

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ley College. His *Galatians* (4) abounds with good *homiletic* material, and will be of great service to preachers. Probably the writer has had them rather than the general public in his mind in preparing this volume. At any rate he has departed, not always very wisely, as it seems to us, from the custom of his predecessors, and not infrequently introduces Greek words both in the text and notes. As the series is announced to be "essentially popular," this is a departure from first principles. Nevertheless, even the unlettered reader will find good reading here. As an exposition the book is excellent, and at times masterly. Professor Findlay follows pretty closely his distinguished predecessor Bishop Lightfoot, but occasionally differs from Professor Beet. Amongst the best portions are the terse definitions of terms, *e.g.*, the fruits of the Spirit, Grace and Peace, &c., in which a wise preacher may often find a good sermon packed into a short sentence.

Messrs. Nisbet & Co. wisely introduce to English readers a volume of *Studies in the Book of Acts* (5), written by Dr. Williams, Bishop of Connecticut. The first twelve chapters of this early history of the Church are divided into some sixteen sections. The version used is the "authorised," not the "revised." The keynote of the work is expressed in these words: "Before Pentecost His [the Holy Spirit's] work was done in individual souls, while after Pentecost He organises a society of men, the Church of God, and in that organisation works in a higher way, and through more powerful influences, than He did on individuals, and moreover is in it 'shed on us *abundantly*,' in a measure before unknown." The exposition is sound, dignified, and instructive.

*The Gospel according to St. Paul* (6) is a masterly exposition of the first eight chapters of the Epistle to the Romans. It is thorough, thoughtful, and eloquent, and forms a most useful addition to the commentaries extant upon that difficult but important portion of th e ritings of the great Apostle of the Gentiles. Dr. Dykes does not claim for his book that it is a commentary or a treatise in theology; nor is it addressed to scholars and divines, although these will, no doubt, accept it with gratitude, as a sound and sensible exposition of a momentous subject. But besides attracting the notice of divines, which Dr. Dykes does not lay himself out for, the work cannot but prove extremely helpful to the ordinary reader who wishes to have clearer views of the fundamental truths of the Gospel. There is nothing novel in the work except the manner

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of treatment; and there is a novelty about that which is exceedingly charming. Dr. Dykes condemns no one for his opinions, he enters into no religious polemics; but he simply states what he conceives to be the truth as given by St. Paul, and certainly a vast step has been made in disentangling the Apostle's statements and making them plain so "that all who run may read."

*The "Coming Conflict of the Church"* (7) is a little work in which Mr. Garratt gives what he calls "present truth for the present day," mainly drawn from his larger work the *Commentary on Revelation*. The purpose of the work is to show what parts of the Revelation have been fulfilled, what are being now fulfilled, and what yet remains. Mr. Garratt is led by his studies to believe that even if the decadence of the British nation with regard to Divine truth and morals does not lead to the scourge of war and invasion—yet the Protestant Churches, and our own in particular, will surrender their Protestantism in accordance with the public opinion of a world-wide commonwealth of nations, the ecclesiastical centre of which will be Jerusalem. The "image of the beast" is an Œcumenical Council which will claim obedience to its canons on the pain of death. This will continue for three years and a half, after which there will be a great revival of true godliness, which will change the whole aspect of things. Mr. Garratt does not attempt to say when all this will be, but he leads us to understand that he considers the coming of the Son of Man to be in the near future.

(1) *The Pulpit Commentary.* Edited by the Very Rev. H. M. D. Jones, D.D., and by the Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M.A. II. *Samuel Exposition.* By Very Rev. R. Payne Smith, D.D. *Homiletics.* By Rev. Prof. C. Chapman, M.A., LL.D. *Homilies.* By various Authors. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1888. Price 15s.

(2) *From Adam to Abraham; or, Lessons on the First Fourteen Chapters of Genesis.* By Rev. J. Gurney Hoare, M.A. London: James Nisbet & Co., 1888. Price 1s.

(3) *A Manual of Introduction to the New Testament.* By Dr. Bernhard Weiss. Vol. 2. Hodder & Stoughton. Price 7s. 6d.

(4) *The Epistle to the Galatians.* By the Rev. Professor G. G. Findlay, B.A. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1888.

(5) *Studies in the Book of Acts.* By Dr. Williams. London: James Nisbet & Co., 1888. Price 6s.

(6) *The Gospel according to St. Paul.* By Rev. J. Oswald Dykes, M.A., D.D. James Nisbet & Co., 1888. Price 6s.

(7) *Coming Conflict of the Church.* By Samuel Garratt, M.A., Hon. Canon of Norwich. William Hunt & Company, 1889. Price 1s.

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Lectures. In the Cunningham Lecture for 1888 (1) Professor Blaikie gives a series of sketches of the most famous and influential Scotch preachers, with a critical estimate of their merits and peculiarities. His book covers thirteen centuries, but he passes over ten of them at a bound. He divides the entire time into ten periods, but no lecture treats of the space between the early Celtic Church and the Reformation. The leap is a long one, but there is really nothing to detain the historian. Dr. Blaikie usually gives only the barest outline of each preacher's life, sometimes hardly that; but he takes great pains to set forth adequately and honestly both the matter and manner that each adopted. He does full justice to Columba, and the noble band of missionaries whereof Columba is the central figure. He does not draw too dark or ludicrous a picture of Roman Catholic preaching at the beginning of the Reformation period. He rightly traces the revival of preaching to revived religious life, nor does he overestimate the effect of preaching upon the political, intellectual, and religious progress of Scotland. As is natural, and indeed befitting, the lectures generally occupy the appreciative standpoint, but they do not shrink from indicating the defects and errors of either individual preachers or a school or period. Much stress is laid upon the polemics that formed so large an element in the typical Presbyterian discourse until the reign of Moderatism began. But Dr. Blaikie hardly perceives perhaps to what an extent Moderatism, with its serious, if not fatal, deficiencies, was a reaction from the fury, clamour, asperity, and narrowness which marred and concealed some of the finest qualities of the proclamation of the Gospel during the Reformation and succeeding periods. He notices and laments this harshness and roughness and the undue prominence of controversy, and he urges some forcible pleas in excuse. But he does not take sufficient account of their inevitable effects so soon as Christianity came to be studied from the side of culture. For all that, the lecture on "The Moderate School" is eminently fair. While passing a somewhat severe condemnation upon it as a whole, Dr. Blaikie allows that it rendered real service by calling the Church's and the preacher's attention to neglected fields which the pulpit might claim its share in. From first page to last, the lecturer never forgets the proposition which it is his principal object to prove, and which, nevertheless, is the outcome of independent observation and research, viz., that the success of preaching depends upon the faithfulness, earnestness, and vital

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conviction wherewith evangelical truth is presented. So far as Scotland is concerned, he certainly makes his case good. He is a little too much disposed to assume that Calvinism and evangelical truth are identical, and alike exclusive of all other theological systems; and he is almost blind to the existence of other religious denominations in North Britain than the Presbyterian. But the reader can easily make due allowance for this slight lack of breadth of view. The concluding lecture on "The Pulpit of To-day" contains suggestions to which preachers of all sorts and conditions would do well to take heed. We may add that the book is eminently readable. The author knows when and where to touch lightly, and when and where to expatiate. His larger portraits are painted boldly and clearly, and not in too great detail. His smaller sketches skilfully seize upon the main features to be preserved. Many names worthy to be remembered are rescued from the oblivion into which they were falling. Professor Blaikie has done no better piece of literary work than the Cunningham Lectures for 1888.

One excellent feature of these lectures we have omitted to mention: their exposure of the misrepresentations of evangelical preaching and preachers given by Scott, Dickens, Thackeray, Kingsley, and Mrs. Oliphant.

*Boston Monday Lectures* (2).—The covers of the eleventh volume of these lectures hold a rather heterogeneous collection together. As a sort of apology for the name, there are eight short lectures, or rather one lecture in eight small divisions. Each lecture has its "prelude," generally longer than the piece itself, and answers to one or two miscellaneous questions—the jam, apparently, which persuades big audiences to swallow the tiny dose of medicine provided for them. There is a "Symposium on Current Religious Perils," only a collection of letters answering a schedule of inquiries. You might as well call a bundle of examination papers "a symposium." There are also eight "Invocations," five addresses by Mr. Cook, four addresses, and four articles by others, and an appendix containing two more "Preludes,' and a number of papers connected with the "Congregational Creed Communion of 1883." The lectures proper, exhibit "modern novel opportunity" in philosophy, theology, ethics, and so on. The preludes and addresses cover a good deal of ground, and are not altogether innocent of repetition. Their principal subjects are Probation after Death and Total Abstinence. Mr. Cook argues stoutly that every man's destiny is decided in this present life, and



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exposes with intense earnestness the danger of proclaiming a probation beyond the grave. There is immense force in his pleadings. But he scarcely understands the difference between preaching to men, that they will have a "second chance," and holding that the Scriptures do not declare the manner in which God will deal with those ignorant of the Gospel, and that, therefore, it is permissible to seek intellectual relief in the speculative possibility of further ministries in the intermediate state. All the texts he cites are susceptible of this limitation. As to Temperance, Mr. Cook is an extreme Prohibitionist, and will not even listen to arguments on the other side. One commendable feature is the determined and partially successful effort to view politics in the light of Christianity. There is an attractive downrightness about Joseph Cook. He knows what he wants to say, and he says it plainly and boldly, so that no one can mistake his meaning. Decidedly the lectures were worth republishing in this country, and they will repay perusal.

**The Helps Heavenward Series.** THIS series (3) consists at present of fourteen small volumes, clearly printed and tastefully "got-up," and sold at a low price. The editors state that their aim is wholly devotional and expository. They confine themselves to their purpose with commendable strictness. Two, *The Beginning of the Christian Life* and *The Programme of Life*, are by the Rev. W. L. Watkinson. Both are terse, incisive, popular, judicious. The first addresses itself to young Christians; the second, to those in the midst of the struggle. More practically helpful and suggestive books it would be difficult to find. In *God and Nature* the Rev. N. Curnock gives some pleasant and suggestive studies of "the nature Psalms," and other portions of Scripture dealing with natural phenomena. It is a capital guide-book to the devotional study of physical science, and teaches the Christian how to turn to spiritual uses the ordinary occurrences that may be witnessed in sky, and field, and wood. The reader of Christian Childhood cannot fail to notice how strongly Bushnell's theory of "Christian Nurture" has taken hold of the Rev. A. S. Gregory, and how completely it has passed through the crucible of his own mind. It has now an evangelical impress which it certainly lacked before. The objects of the book, however, is not to set forth a theory, but to give practical counsels. The volume runs over with earnestness, kindliness, and shrewdness. The aim of Professor Davison is to enable Christian people to combine in their reading of Holy Writ, a pair only too

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often disjoined, devotion and intelligent study. The author sets the example himself. The book glows with fervent delight in the Scriptures, while evidences of minute and scholarly thought and searching mark every page, some of them too delicate to be noticed by the perfunctory reader. It is a wonderfully stimulating and informing guide to the reading of the Bible "with the spirit and the understanding also." *The Coming of the King*, by the Rev. J. Robinson Gregory, treats the Second Advent from the devotional and expository standpoint of the series. Carefully avoiding controversy, and seizing upon the points common to all hypotheses as to the time and manner of the Coming, it endeavours to turn all these to "the use of edifying."

In the *Christian Conscience* (4) Mr. Davison makes a very successful attempt to supply something towards filling the gap which exists in the matter of Christian ethics. Works on this subject are plentiful in Germany, but not so in England, and, therefore, Mr. Davison does his best to supply a want; for while Christian doctrines are fully represented in the literature of this country, there is plenty of room for treatises on Christian duty. Mr. Davison's book is not an exhaustive work, but it treats the particular department of ethics with considerable fulness, with great learning, and in an interesting manner. While expressing indebtedness to Professor Green and Dr. Martineau, the author pursues his own line, and ably supports the old theory of conscience as against the evolutionary theory; his answer to the objections of Hegel, and Mill, and J. C. Morison are satisfactory; and, altogether, the book is calculated to arouse interest in the subject, and to advance the cause of morality from the Christian standpoint.

(1) *The Preachers of Scotland from the Sixth to the Nineteenth Century.* By W. G. Blaikie, D.D., LL.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1888.

(2) *Boston Monday Lectures: Current Religions, with Preludes and Other Addresses on Leading Reforms, and Symposium on Vital and Progressive Orthodoxy.* By Joseph Cook. London: Richard D. Dickinson, 1888.

(3) *The Beginning of the Christian Life.* By the Rev. W. L. Watkinson. *God and Nature.* By the Rev. Nehemiah Curnock. *Christian Childhood.* By the Rev. A. S. Gregory. *The Word in the Heart: Notes on the Devotional Study of Holy Scripture.* By the Rev. W. T. Davison, M.A. *The Coming of the King: Thoughts on the Second Advent.* By the Rev. J. Robinson Gregory. *The Programme of Life.* By the Rev. W. L. Watkinson. London: T. Woolmer, 1888-89.

(4) *The Christian Conscience.* By Rev. W. T. Davison, M.A., Professor of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, Richmond College. London: T. Woolmer, 2, Castle Street, City Road, E.C., 1888. Price 5s.

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**Helps for Sermons.**

LORD BACON'S advice that an exceedingly valuable commentary might be furnished from the sermons of great preachers, has nowhere been carried out so helpfully to the preacher as in *The Sermon Bible* (1), now in course of publication. In the *Biblical Illustrator*, no doubt, more matter is given. But for arrangement of material, editorial skill, and due proportion, the importance of texts, viewed as to their homiletical uses, *The Sermon Bible* carries off triumphantly the palm. If the former is voluminous, the latter is luminous. Perhaps more care might in future be given to making the framework of sermon-sketches more symmetrical and suggestive. The art of making skeletons useful to another mind is but yet in its infancy. The homiletical writer who brings it to perfection has an open and large field for his literary energies.

FROM even an incorrectly constructed outline of *one's own*, a good sermon may be preached; but for an outline of another's to help a preacher the prime necessity is that its structure be scientifically correct. Though *The Weekly Pulpit* (2) is decidedly above the average of such periodicals, still the construction of the sketches are often faulty; so they sometimes fail to make complete sense, and rarely obey the laws of symmetry.

**The Lord's Prayer.**

A NEW work upon *The Lord's Prayer* (3) surely needed a preface to show how far it occupies any independent ground of its own. We fail to discover in its matter and style anything very special which justified its publication. Here and there the writer deftly turns to good spiritual account some memorable saying, and he has the virtue of knowing when to "leave off," and not to bore the reader.

*The Lord's Prayer* (4), by Dr. A. Saphir, consists of eighteen lectures, in which the subject matter of the prayer and many ancillary subjects are treated with great fulness, deep reverence, and hearty earnestness. The work has reached a ninth edition, which proves that it has been appreciated; and it deserves appreciation.

(1) *The Sermon Bible:* Genesis to 2 Samuel; 1 Kings to Psalm lxxvi. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1888.

(2) *The Weekly Pulpit.* A Series of Suggestive Sermons, Outlines, Critical and Homiletical Notes, Illustrations, and Addresses, for the Use of Preachers. Vol. IV. Elliott Stock.

(3) *The Disciple's Prayer.* Being Notes of Sermons on our Lord's Prayer. By Rev. J. M. Gibbon, 1888. Elliot Stock.

(4) *The Lord's Prayer.* Lectures by Rev. A. Saphir, D.D. Ninth Edition. Price 5s. London: J. Nisbet & Co.

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**Books for Young Men.**

MAJOR SETON CHURCHILL'S volume, *Forbidden Fruit for Young Men* (1), has reached a third edition, and we are pleased to see that Messrs. Nisbet have issued it at the low price of one shilling, or bound in cloth, one shilling and sixpence, because we are sure that it will be an advantage to have it disseminated widely among the class for whom it is especially intended. It is a difficult task to write on the subject of purity in a way which is at once interesting, effective, and inoffensive, but Major Churchill has achieved this feat, and produced a work which will be of great benefit if widely read. The manly tone of the book will strike every one, and it is sensible without being goody or mawkish. The subjects it treats of are not such as can well be handled in sermons or in Bible-classes, and yet it is very necessary that silence should not be kept about such matters. Therefore many will be glad to know of a work which can be put into a young man's hand without fear of harm, and with good hope that there may be in its pages lessons which will point out the dangers and form guides in many of the difficulties which assail the rising generation, especially in large towns.

Another book for young men is *David, the Man after God's own Heart* (2). It appears to be a volume of discourses delivered to a congregation at the Nottingham Tabernacle, and is dedicated to the officers, fellow-workers, and members thereof by the author, who is their pastor. The sermons are somewhat jerky in style, and read more like notes of discourses than the discourses themselves. Thus, for example, on p. 144 we read, "Smooth places are slippery places. A full cup is not easily carried. Sloth in a servant is an indication of unfitness; in a king, of disease. There are more dangers in the heights than the dwellers in the valley can see. The climber needs strength, and he who stands upon the summit must be steady of eye and firm of nerve." It is said that these sermons proved a means of blessing to many; such a statement disarms criticism, and we can heartily wish the work all the success which can accrue to such a well-meant endeavour.

*The Broad and the Narrow Way* (3) is the story of a picture of the same title, which was thought out by Charlotte Reihlen, a Dutch lady who died in 1868, and drawn by Herr Schacher. The book and the picture too have met with an efficient expounder in the person of Mr. Gawin Kirkham, and in his hands they form a very quaint and interesting exposition of some of the deepest truths of the Gospel.

(1) *Forbidden Fruit for Young Men.* By Major Seton Churchill. London: James Nisbet & Co. Price 1s.

(2) *David, the Man after God's own Heart.* By Rev. H. E. Stone. London: James Nisbet & Co. Price 2s. 6d.

(3) *The Broad and the Narrow Way.* Morgan & Scott. Price 1s.

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*Winer's Symbolical Chart* (1), translated by the Rev. Walter Carrick, St. Clement's, Aberdeen, exhibits a comparative view of the doctrines held by the Greek, Roman, Lutheran, Reformed (or Calvinistic), and Armenian Churches; to which are added the opinions of the Socinians. The information is furnished under the seven headings—The Rule of Faith, Theology Proper, Anthropology, Soteriology, The Appropriation of Salvation, and Christian Life. By the care with which the literary matter has been provided, and by the skill bestowed in its display, a difficult controversy is readily grasped. It would be an immense help to theological students at the outset of their studies.

Good interpreters of *The Pilgrim's Progress* are rare. For keen analysis of character, fulness of scholarship, attractiveness of style, and homeliness of spiritual teaching, we know of nothing to equal *The People of the Pilgrimage* (2). The first series of studies was on "true pilgrims;" this second series is on the "helpers," the "false pilgrims," and the "enemies."

*The Spirit of Christ: Thoughts on the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the Believer and the Church* (3). From the first page to the last there is one sustained effort of living faith in the thought that as "an indwelling life the Holy Spirit must be known." Necessarily, no doubt, in all works upon the realisation of "the higher life" (a phrase differently understood by different minds), there will be a sort of diffuseness of style and a certain mysteriousness of air. Still, as Lamartine remarks, "mystery hovers over everything here below, and solemnises all things to the eyes and heart." This book is sure to obtain a wide circulation among those who are striving after a life of more complete consecration.

We are very glad to note that the *Memoriats of the Hon. Ion Keith-Falconer, M.A.* (4), late Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, and Missionary to the Mohammedans of Southern Arabia, has reached a fifth edition. It should quicken the Christian devotedness of young men.

(1) *Winer's Symbolical Chart.* Translated by the Rev. Walter Carrick, St. Clement's, Aberdeen.

(2) *The People of the Pilgrimage.* By Rev. J. A. Kerr Bain, M.A. Edinburgh: Macniven & Wallace, 1888. Price 2s. 6d.

(3) *The Spirit of Christ: Thoughts on the indwelling of the Holy Ghost in the Believer and the Church.* By Rev. Andrew Murray. London: James Nisbet & Co., 1888. Price 2s. 6d.

(4) *Memoirs of the Hon. Ion Keith-Falconer, M.A.* London: Deighton, Bell & Co., 1888. Price 4s.

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**Centenary of Missions.**

AMONGST the numerous jubilees and centenaries that have of late been celebrated, none was more interesting, in its way, than the Centenary Conference of Missionaries, held in Exeter Hall, from June 9th to the 19th, 1888, of which a very full and particular report lies before us. Some 1,600 delegates, representing in all 140 Missionary Protestant Associations, English, American, Canadian, European, assembled, and the speeches they delivered, the opinions they expressed, the suggestions they made are most interesting and valuable. To some minds it may be a drawback that there should be so many associations among Protestants for this one purpose; but at any rate it shows that Christians of all kinds are alive to their duty in this respect; and no one can read this report without feeling thankful for what is being done towards making the Gospel known abroad. The speakers were, for the most part, men whose names are little known beyond their immediate sphere; but this was all the better, for they were men who have been content to sink themselves in their great work. The section about the various religions which oppose themselves to the Gospel, or which the Gospel has to grapple with, is very instructive; the suggestions about polygamy are weighty; the descriptions given of India, China, Japan, Turkey, America, Africa, and Oceania are extremely good. The discussions about Missionary Methods, Medical Missions, Missions to Women, and by Women; about Missionary Literature, Missionary Colleges, and Bible Societies; as well as the employment of Native Agents, the organization of Native Churches, and the Training of Workers, are very suggestive. And lastly, the question of Missionary Comity—the desirableness of having a common understanding between Missionary Committees and workers—is very well handled. If Missionaries become mutually acquainted with each other wherever possible; if they naturally bind themselves to comity in respect of overstepping borders; if they constantly hold out helping hands to each other, the result must be that the cause they are all engaged in will be greatly stimulated and advanced. Praise is due to those who projected and arranged this Conference, and much commendation ought to be given to the secretaries who prepared the report. It forms two handsome volumes, which ought to find a place among the books of every one who takes an interest in the spread of Christianity, for they are a mine of information.

*Report of the Centenary Conference of the Protestant Missions of the World*, held in Exeter Hall (June 9-19th). London, 1888. Edited by Rev. James Johnson, F.S.S., Secretary. London: J. Nisbet & Co., 1888. 2 vols., price 7s. 6d.

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W. Arthur on Deism.

"Religion without God" and "God without Religion" (9) are telling titles which aptly describe the two chief currents of thought which influence those who reject the revelation in the written Word. The work entitled *Religion without God*, shows that Herbert Spencer's gospel, "Unascertained Something," which in process may be evolved, and that Mr. Harrison's gospel, "Spiritual Power," which man unfortunately by nature has not, are no substitutes for religion, either as to the life to come, or even to the life that now is. The companion book, *God without Religion*, considers Sir James Stephen's case for Deism, which means a total abandonment of all religion,—an abandonment, however, admitting of a belief in God. In a most business-like and painstaking manner William Arthur deals with his opponent. He first of all clears the ground by showing what is the precise attitude of Sir J. Stephen to Agnosticism, Positivism, and Christianity. This is necessary, for though the Judge, from his legal training, is less ambiguous than Mr. Spencer and Mr. Harrison, yet he uses some ambiguous phrases to cover the weakness of his position and to hide his own perplexities. If Sir J. Stephen is less ambiguous than his non-Christian contemporaries, he treats his subject with a lightness beyond all parallel, consequently William Arthur, as a skilled controversalist, exposes the folly of this Deist. But to make Sir J. Stephen's discomfiture the more complete, his arguments are taken seriatim, and may be summed up as follows:—Men do not want a religion, they only take it through compulsion; men can get on very well without a religion; men are moral without a religion; besides, virtues will not be destroyed, but only transferred by the abolition of religion; and even certain poetic virtues are not exclusively Christian,—for example, patriotism. As the argument, that men do not really want a religion, is based upon the hypothesis that the scientific view of life destroys the foundation of religion, William Arthur brings the full force of his Christian artillery against this citadel of his opponent, not ceasing to fire until he has completed its entire destruction. Chapters v. and vi. are worth careful reading and re-reading. William Arthur now returns to the discussion about the absurdity of the very idea of doing away with religion, and especially with Christianity, and about the social and moral deterioration which would eventually result from any such attempt.

(9) *God without Religion, Deism, and Sir James Stephen.* By William Arthur. Bemrose & Sons. Price 7s. 6d.

Henderson, Rait, & Spalding, Printers, 3 and 5, Marylebone Lane, London, W.

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*JUNE* 1889.

The
Theological Monthly

# ISAIAH AND THE SPIRIT OF PROPHECY.[1]

THE Prophet Isaiah is, after Moses, perhaps the grandest figure in the Old Testament. We have to thank books like this of Mr. Smith's for setting him before us in the vividness of his human personality, amidst all the striking lights which recent discovery has cast on his environment. Increasingly is the need felt of bringing home to men's minds the fact that the Bible is a book of present-day interest—that it deals not only with far-off times and past events, but has

A BURDEN AND MESSAGE

for the age in which we ourselves live. We must try to see the great men of the Bible in the setting of their own times—to feel how terribly real and earnest was the work they had to do in the midst of their own surroundings—how their true greatness lay in the fact that they invariably took the right measure of each historical situation as it arose, saw with God-illumined vision to the root of the moral, social, and political evils which confronted them, and laid bare the laws which, not in Israel only, but everywhere and in all times, infallibly determine the salvation or ruin of a people. It is because so little regard is paid to the genuinely historical interest in the Bible that

[1] *The Book of Isaiah.* By the Rev. Geo. Adam Smith, M.A. In Two Vols. Vol. I. Isaiah i.—xxxix. (Expositor's Bible Series). London: Hodder & Stoughton.



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many parts of it remain to the bulk of readers unintelligible or obscure. There is no prophet whose writings are more frequently quoted in the New Testament than the Prophet Isaiah. Many passages from his prophecies are familiar to us as household words. Yet how

DIM A FIGURE

does Isaiah remain to most of those who thus hear his name. Who he was, when he lived, what were the political, and social, and religious circumstances of his age, what occasions called forth his prophecies, and gave them their particular character and colouring—of all this they know nothing, and have never, perhaps, thought it important to enquire. Yet it would be as hopeless to attempt to understand Isaiah's earlier prophecies—most of them manifestoes called forth by the state of morals in Judah, or by some grave turn in the course of political events—without some knowledge of contemporary circumstances, as it would be to collect the sense of the leaders of our morning newspapers without a modicum of acquaintance with the public policy and questions of the hour.

It might have been that we had no means of answering the questions we would like to ask about Isaiah. He might have been to us as Shakespeare, regarding whom we know very little more than the name. We know the book, not the man. As the case actually stands, it is far otherwise. Isaiah is a living, energetic personality, standing out against a clear background of history. He is a central figure of his age, not merely an undaunted preacher of righteousness, but a leading actor in the political movements of the times, a statesman and counsellor of kings, the hope and mainstay of the nation in its hours of sorest crisis. An invaluable aid has of late been obtained in reconstructing our knowledge of his times from

THE UNCOVERED PALACES,

the erewhile buried libraries, and the newly deciphered monuments of Assyria. It is exactly this period of "the days of

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Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah," covered by Isaiah's ministry, which is thrown by these monuments into the strongest relief. Formerly it was possible to trace outlines—now we have practically a new book to place alongside the Bible, which throws a flood of light on the details of the picture, and makes Sargon and Sennacherib as familiar to us is if they were kings of the last century. Besides adding to our knowledge of the historical situation, this new-found lore enables us to fix the chronological arrangement of Isaiah's prophecies with a precision not hitherto attainable. Along the whole line of the political development, oracle can be fitted to event with great approximate accuracy.

The beginning of Isaiah's ministry carries us back to the eighth century before Christ. It was towards the close of the long reign of Uzziah, one of the ablest and most competent rulers who had sat on the throne of Judah. The latter years of the king's life were shadowed with the cloud of leprosy, but the government did not suffer in the hands of his vigorous son Jotham, who well sustained the traditions of his father's rule. Under these monarchs the kingdom rose to the highest point of external prosperity it had attained since the days of Solomon. But as often happens when rulers bend their energies to the strengthening of a state politically, without due regard to its moral growth, there had been going on unseen a process of deterioration which to a prophet's eye was of the most serious importance. With wealth had come luxury; with luxury, pride and dissoluteness; with this, the casting off of the fear of God, oppression of the poor, and a general loosening of social ties. It was amidst such conditions that Isaiah, then a young man, received

THE CALL

recorded in the sixth chapter of his book. Mr. Smith's treatment of this vision and of Isaiah's early life generally is an excellent specimen at once of the merits and weaknesses of his volume. Rarely have the sublimities of the Divine holiness, man's sense of sin, and the experience and effects of

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forgiveness, been expounded in more glowing periods. But Mr. Smith sees fit to hang all this on an "ideal biography" of Isaiah, which appears to us as insecure in its historical foundations,[1] as it is gratuitous in the slight it puts on the earlier portion of the prophet's ministry. According to this new reading of events, Isaiah was at first a sharer "in the too easy public religion of his youth," an idealist dreaming of the impossible, and was only awakened to a sense of the realities of the situation by the shock of the great king's leprosy and death. It is certainly a hitherto unheard of idea that the magnificent passage in chap. ii. 2-5, common to Isaiah and Micah ["It shall come to pass in the latter days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established," &c.], is an Utopia, and "simply a less gross form of the king's own religious presumption" (p. 61). *When* chap. vi. was written down we shall not discuss, but we hesitate to assume that it was the product of a soul "grown somewhat uncertain, it may be, of her original inspiration" (p. 58). Whatever may have been Isaiah's moral and spiritual preparation for the call he received, one thing is clear, there was need for a prophet, and God gave one. The call came at a crisis when the nation was about to enter on a new step in its downward moral course. When after a brief independent reign Jotham died, and the throne was occupied by Ahaz—a weak and frivolous prince—the change became fully apparent. It is to the beginning of his reign, and the close of his predecessor's, that the prophecies of chaps. ii.-v. belong, which, with their terrible pictures of misgovernment and oppression, of nobles and ladies rolling in luxury at one end of the social scale, and squalid poverty clamouring for bare subsistence at the other, of shameless debauchery, and heartless grinding down of the cultivators of the soil, hold up to us so vividly

[1] There are three historical assumptions which underlie this part of Mr. Smith's book: (1) That Uzziah died in 740, (2) that his leprosy and death were nearly contemporaneous, (3) that the vision of Isa. vi. took place not before but after Uzziah's death. All these assumptions are doubtful, and the removal of any one of them shakes the foundations of Mr. Smith's theory.

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MODERN SINS IN AN ANCIENT MIRROR,

—warnings we all do well to study.[1] Mr. Smith ascribes these pieces (chaps. ii.-iv.) to the stage of Isaiah's "apprenticeship," and supposes that in them "we have the obscure and tortuous path of a conviction struggling to light in the prophet's own experience," in this way explaining what he conceives to be their "obscurities and inconsistencies" (pp. 34-36). This patronising style of interpreting the great Isaiah may sit gracefully enough on "that modern Rabshakeh, Ernest Rénan" (p. 350),[2] but in the present volume we submit it is a little out of place. We shall recur to the point again. The splendid poem which constitutes the vestibule to the whole book (chap. i.)—called by Ewald "The Great Arraignment"—may belong to a later date, though we see no insuperable obstacle to its being placed in the reign of Ahaz during the invasions referred to in 2 Chron. xxviii. 5, 17-19. For this is the next stage in the advance. Under the feeble, dilettante Ahaz—a mere puppet in the hands of those who pulled the strings in the harem and the court (iii. 12), obstinate only in wickedness—the prosperity of the reigns of Uzziah and Jotham vanished like a dream. The surrounding tribes threw off their allegiance, and swooped down in turn like birds of prey on the kingdom that had ruled them. Specially formidable was the confederacy of Rezin of Damascus and Pekah king of Israel, which had for its express object to dethrone Ahaz, and set up a king of their own, a certain "son of Tabeel" in his stead, and which furnished the occasion of

[1] Finely incisive is Mr. Smith's remark—"It is with remarkable persistence that in every civilisation the two main passions of the human heart, love of wealth and love of pleasure, the instinct to gather and the instinct to squander, have sought precisely these two forms denounced by Isaiah on which to work their social havoc, appropriation of the soil and indulgence in strong drink. Every civilised community develops sooner or later its land-question and its liquor-question" (p. 41).

[2] Cf. Rénan's *History of Israel* (Eng. trans.), ii. p. 411, &c.

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THE GREAT IMMANUEL PROPHECY

extending from chap. vii. to chap. ix. 8.[1] Isaiah is sent to reassure the king, terrified by the invasion; but Ahaz, who has already his own plans formed for calling in the help of the Assyrian, hypocritically rejects the sign that is offered him, and so further "wearies" God. It is then that, turning on him with unconcealed indignation, Isaiah gives, not for the sake of Ahaz, but for the godly in Judah, the sign of Immanuel—the maiden's Child—in whose birth and reign is found the guarantee for the perpetuity of David's house. The prophecy has its difficulties;[2] but if any one thinks it is an ordinary child whose birth is here predicted, he has only to read the chapters through to see good reason for a contrary opinion. Amidst all the trouble and desolation that was to come upon the land, it was the Child Immanuel which was the secret source of the prophet's hope. Do the Assyrians come in like a flood? His hope of deliverance is in the fact that it is the land of Immanuel (viii. 8). Do the peoples associate themselves and take counsel together? Their counsel shall come to nought. Why? "For Immanuel" (viii. 10). Shall the long, oppressive night of

[1] To this period also belongs the prophecy against Damascus (chap. xvii.). The fragment (ix. 9—x. 4) appears to be a continuation of chap. v. 25-30.

[2] The chief difficulty is in the apparent connection of the birth of the child with the events of the Syro-Ephraimitic war. The fulfilment is in the future, but it is not exactly as a future event that the prophet foresees it. The Hebrew is, "A virgin [or maiden] *is* with child, and *beareth* a son," &c. Not in fact, but to his inner eye the birth of this child is a present event, it has all the force of present reality to him—he speaks of it as present. It is to him as good as realised. He does not picture this child as away on in the future, but in his vision as now and here before him—he sees it growing up in poverty amidst the desolations which the people's sins have brought upon the land—and picturing it in this way as already present, he is able to interweave with it a definite prophecy of the near destruction of the actual invaders of Israel. Before this child, pictured as already born, would have arrived at years of discretion, "the land whose two kings thou abhorrest shall be forsaken." This prophecy, however, though fitted to console and strengthen the faith of those who were already believers, was too intangible a sign to produce much effect on the general body of the people. Accordingly a supplementary sign is given of a more palpable character—that of Maher-shalal-hash-baz (viii. 1-4).

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sorrow at length pass away, and a new era of peace and righteousness be inaugurated—it is this child with the Divine titles on whose shoulder the government is placed (ix. 6, 7). It is the figure of the Messiah which looms before the prophet's mind, enlarged to supernatural dimensions, for how else, apart from the four names, can an unending reign be ascribed to Him? Mr. Smith cordially recognises the Messianic sense, though he somewhat detracts again from the force of this admission by seeking an origin for the promise out of the prophet's own subjective convictions.[1] A period of silence seems to follow in the Cassandra-like ministry of the prophet, during which the testimony is bound up, the law sealed, in the little circle of his immediate disciples (viii. 16). The silence is broken about the time of the great crash in the neighbouring kingdom which put an end for ever to its independence. Chap. xxviii. anticipates the fall of Samaria —that proud crown of the drunkards of Ephraim; and chaps. x. 5-xii. is a longer oracle in which this dire event, viewed as already past, is made the occasion of a powerful denunciation of the Assyrian,[2] with a magnificent background of Messianic promise. We are now in

THE TIMES OF HEZEKIAH,

a king of a very different stamp from the ungodly Ahaz. The advent of this new ruler brought with it the hope of better days for Judah. The great event of the first year of his reign was a public religious reformation, and there is reasonable probability in the view that it is the features of his just and peaceful administration which form the starting point of some of the glowing pictures the prophet draws of

[1] The kernel of the oracle, which, according to Mr. Smith, was "falsified by events" in the form in which it was originally given, is taken to be "that whatsoever deliverer His people need and can receive shall be sent to them, and shall be styled by whatsoever names their hearts can best appreciate" (p. 142), and this is deduced from Jehovah's zeal for His own honour.

[2] The Assyrian is but an instrument—an axe or saw—in God's hands. He does not think he is, but serves his own ends. Howbeit, when God has used him for His purposes, He will in turn punish his proud heart.

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the reign of the Messiah—*e.g.*, of that beautiful description in the thirty-second chapter, "Behold a king shall reign in righteousness," &c. The undercurrents of society, however, were but little changed by these surface measures of reform, and soon we find things drifting back into the old way of worldly policy and intrigue—the more that the Assyrian, long hanging like a storm-cloud on the horizon, has now become a near and imminent peril. Chap. xx., inserted in the collection of Oracles on Foreign Nations, is a striking glimpse into the troubled politics of the reign of Sargon.[1] The immediate object is to warn against the policy of seeking help against Assyria by alliances with Egypt. It is to this period that Mr. Cheyne refers many of the prophecies usually connected with the expedition of Sennacherib, but till at least further evidence is forthcoming it is safer to adhere to the ordinary view. In working up this later period of Isaiah's ministry, Mr. Smith is at his best. The episode of Hezekiah's sickness, under the title of "An Old Testament Believer's Sick-bed," is admirably handled, though the denial to Hezekiah of any hope of a future life—any, at least, which could be a comfort to him—seems put too absolutely. Mr. Smith has himself well stated the grounds of the Old Testament hope (p. 395). It is not fair to judge a man by moments of despondency and depression when his faith fails him, and all the gloom and fear attending the plunge into the unknown come back on him with unrelieved force. On the recovery from sickness came the embassy from Babylon, and Hezekiah's feet began to slip—one proof among others that at this time his wealth and prestige were acting unfavourably on his character. The policy of resort to Egypt was now in the ascendant, and for a time Hezekiah appears to have been carried away by it. Isaiah's voice alone was lifted up clear and strong in denunciation of its folly (xxx., xxxi.), and in

[1] Mentioned alone in this passage in all ancient literature, Sargon was long held by many to be a myth. His palace was the first to be disinterred in the Nineveh excavations. His inscriptions give a full account of the siege of Ashdod referred to by Isaiah, and of Hezekiah's implication in the plot.

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predictions of the approaching investment of Jerusalem by the Assyrian (xxix). It was in truth the time of

ISAIAH'S GREATEST ACTIVITY,

and ended in the sublimest possible vindication of a ministry carried on for thirty years in the midst of almost continuous opposition, mockery, and unbelief. Ere long Sennacherib[1] was actually in the country (701 B.C.), devastating it in every direction, reducing its fenced cities, and taking captive enormous multitudes of its population. The effect on the capital is vividly depicted in chap. xxii. Confidence was exchanged for panic; the cowardly rulers who had been the inspirers of the Egyptian policy fled; pestilence broke out in the crowded city, and the demoralised populace, throwing off all restraint, gave themselves up to riot and debauchery. The very acuteness of the crisis, however, brought with it in a measure its own remedy. For the moment Sennacherib was bought off by heavy tribute (2 Kings xviii. 14-16). At the instigation of Isaiah (xxii. 20-25: cf. xxxvii. 2), Hezekiah had changed his advisers; and now convinced of the folly of his worldly trusts, suffered himself to be guided entirely by the prophet. The people were rallied, and something like order was restored.[2] It was a terrible disappointment, after all they had gone through, when a new contingent of Sennacherib's army appeared before the gates of Jerusalem, again demanding the surrender of the city. The story of the deliverance is familiar to every one. It is not doubted that now when things were at their blackest, as formerly when the invader was yet remote (xxix.), Isaiah with unfaltering confidence predicted the deliverance—predicted it in strains of scornful exultation

[1] To this period belong not only the discourses relating to the invasion of Sennacherib, but many of the oracles now embraced in the collection (chaps. xiii.-xxiii.).

[2] In his undoubtedly powerful chapter on this subject, Mr. Smith in a somewhat far-fetched manner attributes this change to Isaiah's preaching a Gospel of forgiveness, based on the fact that God had fulfilled His promise of deliverance to the city—the deliverance, forsooth, consisting in Hezekiah's humiliating payment of excessive tribute.

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(xxxvii. 21-36)—and staked his prophetic reputation on the fulfilment. Nor does the most sceptical critic doubt that some great catastrophe did fall on the Assyrians, and compelled their sudden retreat from the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. Chap. xxxiii. is the prophetic pæan over their disappearance. Isaiah had consistently foretold that Jerusalem would be delivered, but not by battle or hand of man—delivered suddenly; and his word came absolutely true (cf. x. 33; xxix. 5-8; xxx. 30-33; xxxvii. 7). This is the hour of the supreme triumph of the prophet—the highest point of his influence—and thenceforth we see no more of him. The latter portion of his book relates solely to the future.

On this period of Isaiah's public ministry, Mr. Smith has unquestionably given us a bold, brilliant, original book—one which has already won for him the highest encomiums from competent critics. If we cannot endorse everything that these critics have written, it is not because we are insensible to the fascination of much of its contents. Mr. Smith has many qualifications for undertaking with success the interpretation of this greatest of the prophets of the Old Covenant. His

HISTORICAL SENSE

is strong. He can throw himself with ease and appreciation into the times he is describing, can call up by vivid, imaginative effort the very form and impress of a situation, can describe it in terse, vivid, and effective language. His chapter on "The World in Isaiah's Day" reads like a chapter of Freeman's—to whose style his own strikes us as bearing a considerable resemblance. He has thoroughly assimilated the new learning, is an admirable Hebraist, often venturing on bold, forcible renderings of his own of Isaiah's pregnant passages, can rise to high levels of genuine eloquence, and is a master of trenchant epithet, of lively metaphor, of keen-edged satirical remark. These are qualities of immense importance in the exposition of a prophet whose own style is so sustained, who abounds in vivid, light-flashing metaphor, and who wields

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the weapon of satiric denunciation with such terrible effect in his exposure of the sins and hypocrisies of his time. Mr. Smith has seized also on the essential features of

ISAIAH'S THEOLOGY—

his burning conviction of Jehovah as the Holy One, his faith in the living reality of righteousness, his doctrine of the remnant, his assurance of the purification of Zion through judgment, his anticipation of the Messiah and of a Messianic age. We have no space to quote, or it would be a pleasure to give some examples of the powerful and striking ways in which these ideas are enforced, and modern illustrations and applications sought for them. Were we asked to single out a specimen which would give a good idea of Mr. Smith's style of treatment in its most characteristic qualities, we would probably fix on his inimitable description of the Rabshakeh before Jerusalem (chap. xxii.), winding up with a passage which we take to be one of the most eloquent in the book (p. 348). We must, however, pass from this to point out some things in which, with all its fresh thinking and eloquent modernisation of Isaiah's ideas, we think this book of Mr. Smith's is seriously defective. We do not stay on minor defects, though there are some of these also which in fairness might deserve notice. Mr. Smith's passion for what the authoress of *Robert Elsmere* in a recent article[1] calls "historical translation" sometimes carries him too far. With a *penchant* for the novel, ingenious, paradoxical, he imports into Isaiah's teaching ideas which we suspect are more conceits of his own than a true interpretation of the prophet's thinking; he is fonder of seizing what he takes to be the central thought of a passage, and unfolding it in his own way with modern applications, than in patiently following out, as a model expositor should, the objective course of his author's ideas. Like Rénan, he is sometimes more concerned with the production of an effective picture than with the objective histori-

[1] *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1889.

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cal fact. There is not always the evidence of thinking that has been patiently matured, and clarified from its first cruder elements; and the love of strong, striking expression leads him occasionally into the use of epithets and phrases which jar at least on some ears as slightly irreverent. These, however, with a tendency, perhaps, to overdo parallels, are blemishes upon the surface, and some of them would not be blemishes at all in another kind of work. Much more serious, in our view, is the

THEORY OF PROPHECY

which underlies the book, and gives a character more or less pronounced to all its expositions. We concede that a great service is done by a book which brings out so effectively as this does the human side of prophecy. To understand the work and teaching of Isaiah, we must get rid of our idea of his prophecies as a mere *Church* book; must cease to regard the prophets as mere foretellers; must see in them living preachers of righteousness and rebukers of existing sins. But it is one thing to do this, and another practically to give up the idea of predictive prophecy altogether, except as a deduction of the prophet's own mind from certain general principles of the Divine government, or, as a political forecast, the correctness of which depended on the shrewdness of his judgment in seizing the issues of the movements and combinations of his age. That this is Mr. Smith's idea of predictive prophecy, and his only one, needs no proof to any attentive reader of his book. To Isaiah, we are told, political prudence was a part of religion. "Knowledge of men, experience of nations, the mental strength which never forgets history, and is quick to mark new movements as they rise, Isaiah would have called the direct inspiration of God. And it was certainly these qualities in this Hebrew which provided him with the materials for his prediction of the siege of Jerusalem" (p. 214). The same thought is elaborated more fully in the chapter on Isaiah's predictions towards the close of the book (ch. xxiv.). It is not only that Isaiah's convictions which may be called political are "evidently gathered from his observation of

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political circumstances as these developed themselves before his eyes," but even his Messianic predictions are but "corollaries" from his general religious convictions. "To Isaiah," in short, "inspiration was nothing more nor less than the possession of certain strong moral and religious convictions which he felt he owed to the Spirit of God, and according to which he interpreted, and even dared to foretell, the history of his people and the world"[1] (p. 372). It is in keeping with this view that in his forecastings of the future Isaiah frequently made "mistakes"—how, with any mind short of omniscient could it be otherwise—that the tone of his predictions varied with his moods, that he promised sometimes more and sometimes less, that he occasionally said "extreme" things, that in all but their essential substance his prophecies are fluctuating and inconsistent. And we are bid admire "how profitable, how edifying is the Bible's own account of its inspiration!" On which we would remark—1. That this, at all events, is

*NOT* THE BIBLE'S OWN ACCOUNT

of predictive inspiration. The Bible recognises predictive prophecy, and makes no allowance for "mistakes" (Deut. xviii. 21).[2] Its pages abound in minute and circumstantial predictions of events which no one will pretend were within the scope of natural foresight. The rationalist may explain these as unhistorical, legendary, *vaticinia post eventa*, or anything else he pleases. They are at least there as witnesses to the Biblical belief in the reality of supernatural prediction. A very minor instance is the prophecy of Agabus, in Acts xi. 28, of the famine that was about to come throughout all the

[1] So Ewald writes, "What the prophet can, with perfect right, announce as the word of his God is, in its contents, nothing but the application of some general Divine truth to a given moral condition, or a clear contemplation as to the confusions or unevennesses of moral life before him, springing out of the clear light of the Spirit. What belongs to it falls within the province of the purer, *i.e.*, the Divine Spirit; and if a prophet knows anything more, and can give answer as to other questions, this is something accidental."—*Die Propheten*, i. 12.

[2] Cf. Is. xli. 21-26; xlii. 9; xliv. 7, 25-28; xlv. 21; xlvi. 9, 10; &c.

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world. It is a further Biblical view that the true prophet knew perfectly well how to distinguish between his own thoughts and the words God gave him to speak. But 2.—The view of prophecy here laid down is

NOT IN ACCORDANCE WITH FACTS.

The prediction of the destruction of Sennacherib's army is a case in point. It is allowed on all hands that the prediction was given, and Mr. Smith acknowledges that Isaiah "staked his prophetic reputation and pledged the honour of Jehovah and the continuance of the true religion among men" on its fulfilment (p. 213). Would he have been entitled to do this if the prophecy had been merely a forecast of his own mind? Is any human judgment so infallible as to be entitled to say absolutely how God must and shall act in a given contingency if His cause is not to fail and His character to suffer dishonour? It is contended that Isaiah's judgment was not infallible. The very case against predictive prophecy is made to rest on the supposed failures in the fulfilment of particular predictions. Where, then, is the absolute certainty that Isaiah would not be found to have made a "mistake" in this instance also? Either the failures in definite predictions are few, in which case it is more likely that the "mistake" is in the critics' reading of the events than in the prophecy itself; or, these failures are numerous, in which case it was an act of unwarranted daring on the part of Isaiah to stake so much on a prophecy which might fail. But the singular thing is, it did not fail. Mr. Smith beats the air on this subject in a most uncertain fashion. "At the beginning of the end," it is acknowledged, "such an issue was by no means probable" (p. 307); it was "a marvellous prediction" (p. 368); yet after all not "so very marvellous for a prophet to make who had Isaiah's conviction that Jerusalem must survive, and Isaiah's practical acquaintance with the politics of the time" (p. 355). We might ask, What absolute certainty attaches even to the conviction that Jerusalem must survive, seeing that this was itself a deduction, it might be a mistaken one, from more general principles?

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Jerusalem had been taken before; it was doomed to be taken again; why might it not be God's will that it should be taken now? The prediction, treat it as we may, was undoubtedly marvellous. It is the more so when we reflect that for thirty or forty years Isaiah had uniformly had the same story to tell of an invasion of the Assyrian, and of his sudden destruction before the walls of Jerusalem. If the incident stood alone, it would be the most remarkable on record, though it might still be conceivably explained as a coincidence. But the weakness of this theory of prophecy is that the instance does not stand alone. It does not stand alone in Isaiah's own case, for, beginning with the long vistas of undeniable prophecy in chap. vi., we have numerous other express and definite predictions in his writings. The same is true of the other prophets, *e.g.*, of Amos, of Jeremiah, of Ezekiel. We grant, of course, that there is an ideal element in prophecy, that as the vistas recede the outlines become more general and the perspective is more indistinct, that the blessings of a future age clothe themselves in the forms of the present, &c. But this is not incompatible with true supernatural prediction, both nearer and remote.[1] We have but to contrast the tone of an Amos, who, as Wellhausen admits, "prophesied as close at hand the downfall of the kingdom which just at that moment was rejoicing most in the consciousness of power and the deportation of the people to a far-off northern land,"[2] with the language, say, of a John Bright during the progress of the American Civil War, to see how great is the difference between prophecy and "political perception," albeit the latter is quickened with the most intense consciousness of the righteousness of a cause. "What the revolt is to accomplish," said Mr. Bright, "is still hidden from our sight; and I will abstain now,

[1] Mr. Cheyne has broad views on prophecy, but even he does not go so far as Mr. Smith. He does not pronounce definitely against historical predictive prophecy (*Proph. of Isa.*, i. p. 204); finds in the Psalter and Isaiah foreshadowings of special circumstances in the life of our Saviour (ii. p. 192); and sees, what Mr. Smith does not, the Divinity of Christ in the title 'El gibbōr in Isa. ix. 6 (ii. p. 196).

[2] *Hist. of Israel* (Eng. trans.), p. 470; cf. on Isaiah, p. 483.

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as I have always abstained, from predicting what is to come. I know what I hope for—what I shall rejoice in—but I know nothing of future events that will enable me to express a confident opinion."[1] We would add (3) that this theory of prophecy weakens the foundations of

BELIEF IN SUPERNATURAL INSPIRATION

of every kind. It is very well to draw the distinction which Mr. Smith does between "political convictions," which the prophet "gathered from his observation of political circumstances as these developed before his eyes," and "the moral and religious convictions which he felt he owed to the communication of the Spirit of God" (p. 372); but to what does this lead us when we are further assured that these political convictions also "Isaiah would have called the direct inspiration of God" (p. 214), that it was "God's Spirit, to whose inspiration Isaiah traced all political perception" (p. 355), that for both elements, the moral and political alike, "he claimed the inspiration of God's spirit" (p. 369)? Is there after all any difference in kind between the inspiration by which Isaiah got his "political convictions," *i.e.*, between natural insight, statesmanlike sagacity, &c., and the other "religious convictions," "for which he himself was strongly sure that he had the warrant of the Spirit of God"? (p. 216). Isaiah, from all that appears, was not more "strongly sure" of the supernatural source of the latter order of convictions than he was of the Divine source of the former order; we are told that he put them all in the same category as to origin. Are we, then, to hold that Isaiah was mistaken in making no difference between them, that the latter were *really* inspired in a sense in which the former were not? Or do both truly stand upon the same level the inspiration[2] being simply God's

[1] Speech, June 30th, 1863.

[2] Professor Momerie in his recent volume on "Inspiration" makes no mincemeat of the matter. "By all such expressions as 'thus saith the Lord,' they merely meant to assert the strength of their own conscientious convictions" (p. 9, and *passim*).

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operation in the natural workings of the mind? This, in truth, is the most subtle form of an anti-supernaturalistic theory of revelation at present in the field. Our modern rationalists (*e.g.*, Pfleiderer) do not for a moment deny "revelation"—far be such a thing from them—but that which on the Divine side is viewed as revelation is from the human side simply the natural development of man's moral and religious consciousness. We do not for a moment impute this theory to Mr. Smith, but we must say that no small part of his language seems adapted to imply it, the description of the first chapter of Isaiah, *e.g.*, as "just the parable of the awful compulsion to think which men call conscience," the frequent parallels with those other "prophets," Mazzini, Carlyle, Hugo ("the cases of the Hebrew and Italian prophets are wonderfully alike," p. 86), the growth and changes of his prophetic convictions, &c. There is a loud call for writers who indulge in plausible speech of this kind to come down from vagueness and tell us exactly in what sense they do speak of "inspiration," and how it is understood to differ —if it differs at all—from ordinary religious genius. If the latter is all that is meant, we will require to recast our ideas about the authority of the prophets, and to ask ourselves seriously what place remains for him who is greater than the prophets, the Son of Man Himself.

These questions have a direct bearing on the remaining topic of

THE UNITY OF THE BOOK

of Isaiah. But this is a subject too large to raise in the conclusion of an article. We agree with Mr. Smith that the question of the authorship of the disputed chapters is "one which can be looked at calmly. It touches no dogma of the Christian faith." Further we agree with him that "'facts' of style will be regarded with suspicion by any one who knows how they are employed by both sides in such a question as this" (p. 402). He himself (following Cheyne) accepts as Isaianic an oracle (chap. xxi. 1-10), which the majority of



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critics, on grounds of style and contents, have voted down to the captivity; while "the considerable similarity" which Dr. Samuel Davidson observes between this oracle and chaps. xiii. and xiv., on the ground of which he pronounces them to be from the same hand, and therefore unauthentic,[1] is not allowed to reverse the verdict, and now to secure the latter chapters for Isaiah. The reason is that it is thought an occasion can be found in Isaiah's life for chap. xxi. 1-10, while no such occasion presents itself for chaps. xiii. and xiv. The decision, therefore, turns on a theory of prophecy. The controversy as to the later portion of the book (chaps. xl.-xlvi.) has passed into a new phase since Mr. Cheyne has shown—and on good grounds—that there are at least some portions of it which cannot with any show of plausibility be carried down to the exile. We do not, however, venture further into this field. In the theory of prophecy we have criticised—and the whole movement of thought connected therewith—we suspect Mr. Smith might find another illustration of the "drift" he speaks of so eloquently on p. 252; and we can only regret that in this volume his attitude is so little that of "a man" who sets his back to resist it.[2]

JAMES ORR.

[1] Introduction to the Old Testament, iii. p. 16.

[2] In a recent article (*Homiletic Magazine*, March, 1889) Archdeacon Farrar lends the support of his eloquence to the theory of prophecy above criticised, and launches out with his usual strength of language against those who take a different view. But it is a mere confusing of the issue to represent the choice as lying between this theory and "the ignorant, conventional, and traditional notion" of the prophets "as merely, or mainly, describers of the future." We are not shut up to either of these alternatives. After all, in the latter part of his article, Archdeacon Farrar recognises that prophecy *has* a great deal to do with the future, and centres "more and more brightly, more and more definitely, in a Divine Person, an anointed Deliverer, a coming Saviour for all mankind." There is, therefore, prediction, and the only question is whether this can be accounted for by the hopes and surmises (often erroneous) of the prophet's own mind, or whether we must not attribute it, with the prophets themselves, to supernatural inspiration, giving foresight and certainty beyond the reach of the natural faculties. For notwithstanding the Archdeacon's watering down of their utterances, we must contend that this is really what the prophets claimed.

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# CHURCH OF ENGLAND HYMNALS.

HYMN-SINGING used to be one of the points of difference between Dissent and the Church of England, and indeed gave occasion to one of the epithets aimed by Episcopalians at Nonconformists. Psalm-singing was one of the many adjectives prefixed to the term Puritan. But this point of difference has faded away, and hymn-singing, instead of being one of the dividing, has become one of the uniting influences between Church and Dissent. Churchmen may still regard Dissenters as schismatics, but the schism cannot be very serious whilst the fretted roofs of venerable cathedrals echo with verses penned by the schismatics. Dissenters may still regard Churchmen as heretics, but the heresy cannot be very pervasive whilst even the most orthodox of meeting houses ring with the hymns of Anglican priests and bishops. Hymns, in fact, now form a point of union between parties who are widely sundered by rite, dogma, and ecclesiastical idea. The most fervid Methodist feels half at home in Churches, from which his ancestors were thrust out, as he hears sung the well-loved verses of the venerated Charles Wesley. The highest Anglican, if he should stray into some humble village conventicle, is somewhat placated as he hears, and perhaps joins in, the singing of well-known verses by Bishop Wordsworth or John Keble. If the Churches are ever to be drawn into unity, it will be not by the dogmas of the theologian, but by the verses of the hymnist.

In the matter of hymns the Churchman is as free as the freest of Dissenters. In the matter of prayer in the Church of England there is still the most rigid uniformity. Every petition must come out of the one book of Common Prayer; its hymns may be taken from any source, and from any collection. Here the Church of England is grandly inconsistent, just as the Independents once were, when they allowed every preacher to make his own prayers, but



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only permitted the people to sing the words of Dr. Watts. The Independents, however, have grown more catholic in the matter of hymns; perhaps some day the Church of England will grow more catholic in the matter of prayer, and allow her congregations to use what prayers as she now allows them to sing what hymns they like. In the nature of things there is no more reason for uniformity in prayer than in praise. There are some Churchmen who desire uniformity in both cases, and look forward to the time when their Church shall have a Book of Common Praise as she now has a Book of Common Prayer. But the drift of feeling is in the opposite direction, and it is more likely that variety will invade the domain of prayer than that uniformity will prevail in that of praise.

This variety in praise is partly due to the fact that hymn-singing in the Church of England is a late innovation, and is therefore marked by the modern spirit which tends away from uniformity. Had hymns been introduced into the Episcopal Church at an earlier era—in the Tudor instead of the Hanoverian dynasty—there would probably have been an authorised hymnal as there is an authorised prayer-book. Indeed, when the Psalms formed the only praise-book of the Episcopal Church, each version adopted had to secure royal permission. But that age has passed. Where uniformity has been secured, it may be maintained; but the parties in the Established Church are too many and too pronounced in their ideas to allow of any further attempts to introduce uniformity into new regions. In that of hymn-singing freedom is and probably will remain the rule. Even the most conservative, when they have tasted the sweets of freedom, do not readily forego her delights. The stoutest Anglican would like freedom to alter the Prayer-Book in a sacramentarian direction, as would the most Calvinistic Low Churchman, provided it were in the direction of a less sacramentarian and a more pronounced Evangelicalism. To construct an authorised hymnal for the Church of England would probably raise a storm which the authorities of that Church (if indeed there be such) would find themselves unable to quell. "Let well alone" is therefore seen to be the true policy.

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Since the hymn-singing era dawned on the Church of England, probably not less than 1,000 separate hymnals have been published for her use. At the very lowest computation, and that is probably far below the real number, there have been 500; whilst if those for special classes were added, the number would be vastly increased, probably doubled.

It is well known that long before the first hymn-book was introduced into the Church of England a few hymns were appended to the Psalms of Sternhold and Hopkins and Tate and Brady. This was the thin end of the wedge.

The first hymn-book, however, for use in the Church of England was that by John Wesley in 1737, entitled, *Collection of Psalms and Hymns. Charlestown. Printed by Lewis Timothy*, 1737. This was ten years before the foundation of Methodism. This contained seventy hymns, more than a third of which were by Dr. Watts. This was followed in 1760 by a collection by Madan, of a Calvinistic type, largely based on George Whitefield's book of 1753. This contained 100 more than Wesley's, and provided twenty-seven hymns for sacramental use, for which Wesley had made no provision. Seven years later appeared a collection edited by the Rev. R. Conyers, which embodied a large portion of Madan's, and added thereto a few new hymns by Cowper and Newton. Following these there were Dr. Conyer's collection in 1775, Toplady's in 1776, into which he introduced a few of his own hymns and many from Nonconformist writers. A few hymnals of no distinctive value appeared in the last quarter of the 18th century; whilst in the first half of the 19th century their name is legion, many of them being of provincial origin and scarcely known to the Church at large. Liberty became almost license. Hymn-book editing was regarded as a work which almost any clergyman was competent to undertake. Here and there a book attained to more than a local success and circulation—such as *Psalms and Hymns by Hugh Stowell*, 1831; *Psalms and Hymns for Public and Private Use, by W. H. Bathurst*, in the same year; *The Christian Psalmody, by Edward Bickersteth, in* 1833; *Psalms and Hymns for Public, Private, and Social Worship*,

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*by H. V. Elliott, in* 1835; and *A Selection of Psalms and Hymns adapted to the Services of the Church of England* (1836), *by W. J. Hall,* which is generally known as the Mitre Hymn-book; but the great mass of hymnals edited and published had only a brief day and soon ceased to be. During the years which succeeded this period, though a considerable number of hymnals sprang up in a sporadic way, yet the tendency was toward the production of fewer and more representative collections. Many influences probably conspired to bring this about, among which may be mentioned the following: The increase in the number of hymns and the greater attention given to hymnody made it more difficult for those who were not specialists to undertake the compilation of hymnals, likely to become popular. The production of better books rendered ill-considered collections less attractive to congregations. The fading away of minute doctrinal differences and the merging of people in great parties rendered unnecessary books, to embody the particular views of separate congregations. The failure of a large number of hymnals to attain popularity, and the loss involved in their publication, probably served as a warning to men desirous of editing books of their own. Whilst the manifest inconvenience of a multitude of hymnals in use in the same section of the Church probably wakened the desire to lessen their number and to limit them to those representative of the doctrinal position of great parties in the Church of England.

Gradually the many streams in which the hymnody of each of the various parties had run, united, and settled down to one or two representative books. In this matter the Evangelical party deserves first mention, since hymn-singing in the Church of England began with it; the Moderates scorning it as having a Dissenting flavour and being too much allied with emotional Puritan ideas, whilst the High Church party regarded it as somewhat of an irregularity in worship. In this section of the Church, the many collections —and they are too numerous to mention—formerly in use have gradually given way to *The Hymnal Companion to The*

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*Book of Common Prayer, edited by E. H. Bickersteth*, now Bishop of Exeter. This may be regarded as the full fruitage of the Bickersteth tree, the earlier ones having been *The Christian Psalmody*, edited by his father, and *Psalms and Hymns*, edited by the son. To a very large extent it is the modern representative of, and moves along the lines of, the early hymn-books of the English Church. Its chief merits are its fidelity to the original texts of the hymns, and its inclusion of a larger number of those which had established themselves as favourites, than any other Church of England book. It is thus rather the registration of a judgment and taste already formed than an attempt to guide the worshipper into new pastures. It is decidedly weak in translations from other languages, there being only six from the Greek, fifteen from the Latin, and fewer even than that from the German. Even here the Editor has followed rather than led. Though the Editor (Dr. Bickersteth) is a poet, his hymnal is very deficient in poetic elements.

*The Church of England Hymn-Book, edited by Godfrey Thring*, belongs to a school somewhat higher than *The Hymnal Companion*, and is strong in the very points in which that popular book is weak. It is richer in poetic elements, and in translations from other languages. Although the text of the hymns is not so faithful to the originals, yet the slightest deviation therefrom is set forth. From a literary and poetic standpoint this is the finest collection yet issued for Church of England use, and had the Editor not inserted so many of his own compositions and renderings of others' hymns, it would have been, in my judgment, the finest collection yet published. Many of Mr. Thring's hymns are indeed of great value (he is a far greater hymnist than Bishop Bickersteth, though not so considerable a poet); but like most hymnists who have been editors, he has been too generous with his own hymns.

*Church Hymns*, issued by the S. P. C. K., does not differ much, in a doctrinal sense, from Godfrey Thring's collection, but presents its doctrine more in the form of the Great Divines of the Church of England. It is perhaps less

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of a party book than any other now in use in the Church of England. The Editors have dealt in a much freer way with the texts of the hymns, nor have they indicated the alterations they have made. It falls somewhat below Mr. Thring's in a literary and poetic sense, but has attained to a far wider popularity, partly, because issued by a great society, and partly, because wedded to music by so able an editor as Sir Arthur Sullivan.

*The Hymnary* is a book of an entirely different type. It is modelled after the Breviaries of the Roman Church, and contains hymns not only for the various ecclesiastical seasons, but also for the days of the week and the hours of the day. It includes a very large number of translations from the Latin, which give it a subdued and unpopular tone. A large number of the hymns are good but heavy. It embodies the results of much hymnological study, but is unsuited for general use. It broke new, or rather reculti-vated ancient ground; but it has contributed very few hymns to the general use of the Church, even its new material has never caught the popular ear.

The nearest approach to an authorised hymn-book in the manner of its preparation and its extensive adoption is the well known *Hymns Ancient and Modern.* More than any other hymnal it is the result of concerted action. Whilst the mass of hymnals favoured by the Evangelicals have without any such action given way to *The Hymnal Companion to the Book of Common Prayer*, a number of those of the High Church party were put aside to make way for *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, whilst certain editors who had made preparations for the issue of new hymnals laid aside their plans and joined the company organized to prepare this new collection. A small and tentative book with the simple title *Hymns*, which contained 130, was first issued in 1859, with an invitation from the compilers for suggestions for a final collection. Two years later *Hymns Ancient and Modern* made its appearance containing, 273 hymns, more than half of which were from ancient sources, the translations being chiefly from the pens of Dr. Neale, Chandler, Caswall, and

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I. Williams; most of which were altered by the Compilers. Only about twelve new hymns were introduced. Its success, however, was phenomenal. This was partly due to the concerted action which had called it into being, and still more to the fact that it met the desire for a hymn-book which should link the Church of England, not, as most previous ones had done, to the writers of the Puritan, but to those of the Catholic school of thought; whilst in addition to this, its music, the best suited for the purpose which had then appeared, carried it even into quarters where its doctrinal and sacramentarian flavour was not quite acceptable. Since the original publication in 1861 two supplements have appeared —the first having been afterwards incorporated into a revised edition of the work, and the last, just issued, remaining in the form of supplemental hymns. The completed book contains 638 hymns, and though the later additions have not drawn so largely as the original work on ancient sources, yet the book as a whole is rightly named *Hymns Ancient and Modern.*

From a literary and poetic standpoint the book falls far below Mr. Thring's collection, and even *Church Hymns;* whilst in the matter of alterations it offends even more deeply than the latter. As to doctrine, it follows the lines of *The Hymnary*, but in a more popular way. Although in the last-issued supplement it connects itself with the Puritan by the insertion of many hymns by Charles Wesley, Watts, and others, yet the work as a whole is closely linked to the Catholic sources of hymnody. As a collection of hymns it is far from remarkable; a large portion is exceedingly commonplace, but it met a want, and aided by its music, in which its strength really lies, it has attained to a popularity unequalled by any hymnal in the Church of England. One hymn-book after another, even such carefully-edited ones as the *Salisbury Hymn-Book* have given way before it, even in that diocese, and it is, save in quarters where Evangelicalism or a still higher Anglicanism than it represents hold sway, the accepted book.

The most noteworthy collection of the latter class is *The People's Hymnal*, which for its purpose is a meritorious production, and does credit to the taste of Dr. Littledale, to

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whose labours it is chiefly due. It probably contains as much that is poetic as is consistent with its very high doctrine, but its acceptance is not such as to warrant further description.

*The Berwick Hymnal* deserves mention as representing the opposite pole of the theological and ecclesiastical compass.

Marvellous in comprehensiveness is the Church which has given rise to *The People's Hymnal* on the one side, and *The Berwick Hymnal* on the other, whilst equally wonderful is it, that a Church which at one time sneered at hymn-singing should now be on the high road to rival, even if it does not excel Dissenters, in the cultivation and use of hymns.

The relative popularity of the principal hymnals may, perhaps, be judged from their use in London. According to the new *Mackeson's Guide to London Churches*, *Hymns Ancient and Modern* is now used in five hundred and eighty churches, *Church Hymns* in one hundred and eighty-three, and *The Hymnal Companion* in one hundred and seventy-five. *Mercer*, which ten years ago was used in forty churches, has disappeared from all but seven, *Kemble* has shrunk from fifteen to eight, and *Windle* from twelve to four. During the last six years *Hymns Ancient and Modern* has gained a place in thirty-eight, *Church Hymns* in twelve, and *The Hymnal Companion* in ten churches.

Of Church of England hymnody as a whole it may be said—

1. That the general tendency has been to rely on the old rather than the new. That section of it which follows the Catholic tradition reverts very largely to hymns from ancient and mediæval sources, whilst that which follows the Puritan tradition favours hymns by the earlier authors of that school of thought. In the new Supplement to *Hymns Ancient and Modern* recourse has also been had to what may be roughly called Puritan sources of hymnody, such as Dr. Watts, Charles Wesley, and others. In the case of Charles Wesley, however, hymns which in their letter incline to the sacramentarian idea have been chosen.

2. The bulk of hymns in Church of England hymnals have a pretty distinct doctrinal tone. Some are little more

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than versified dogma, whilst nearly all are more or less suffused with doctrine. There are exceptions to this, but the great bulk of the hymns included are more or less doctrinal.

3. There is a great lack of really poetic hymns. The general style is, as Dean Stanley once remarked, "pedestrian." The vision and faculty divine of the poet has not been regarded as a qualification of the hymnist, but rather as the reverse. I do not know of a single *popular* Church of England hymnal that, taken as a whole, could be described as poetic, or that any one would care to read for its intrinsic beauty. The poetic hymnists are for the most part conspicuous by their absence. At least a score of such could be named who are not represented in hymnals of the Establishment.

4. Little use has been made of the hymns of America. Few, indeed, have been drawn from this source, and those by no means the best, and some even of these have been cruelly mangled. America is gradually accumulating a magnificent store of hymns—deeply religious, very tender and poetic; some of these are by her greatest poets. These richly deserve consideration. An ideal collection cannot be formed without a large infusion of such Transatlantic hymns. Many an old hymn which has nothing but association and age to favour it might well be displaced to make room for finer hymns from this source.

The Church of England has followed Nonconformists in *adopting* hymns for use in her worship. The time will probably come in which she will follow them by the inclusion in her hymnals of hymns by men whose productions are as conspicuous for their poetry as for their doctrinal decisiveness, whose doctrine, indeed, is fired and fused, as is the case with most of the Psalms, by their poetic inspiration.

The last quarter of a century has seen a marvellous development in the hymnody of the Establishment; the next will probably witness a still further development in the direction I have named.

W. GARRETT HORDER.

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# SCEPTICAL NOVELS BY WOMEN.

## No. I.

## *ROBERT ELSMERE.*

### Part II.

THE readers of my first paper on *Robert Elsmere* may have thought the second has been unduly delayed. May I say in exculpation that the claims of more pressing duties, the continual drawback of ill-health, and the wish to do full justice to the argument have all thrown me back? Mistaken my view may be, but not through lack of care or study. While re-perusing the novel, I took great pains to note all that could help to a juster assessment of the *pros* and *cons* in regard to orthodox Christian belief, and its theistic substitute set forth in *Robert Elsmere.*

Some of the headings under which I gathered the more salient points were—Robert Elsmere's character; the influences which determined his religious views and work; Catherine Elsmere's religion, both as regards herself and its effect upon her husband; and that belief in God on which the authoress lays so much stress. There are other matters not at all devoid of interest or lacking in importance, but the above will indicate the basis of my present remarks and argument.

That word "argument" reminds me that in one or two criticisms I read on my opening paper, there was an expression of some regret that I had not dealt more with the reasonings of the authoress of *Robert Elsmere.* I must confess to a little disappointment that my suggestions produced so little conviction; for my purpose was far more to indicate the duty and the consequences of substituting the human for the purely intellectual way of regarding all such books, than to deal with one particular novel. Whatever may be the results produced, for good or for evil, by *Robert Elsmere*, they cannot be compared with those which would be produced if,



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to take but one of my suggestions, the conscience were put higher than the intellect, if we judged men and women's writings more by their moral motives than by their arguments.

It is perfectly true that thousands who read books are influenced by the moral motives. But this is when they are, as they think, off their guard. As soon as a sense of responsibility begins to awaken within them, they immediately call themselves to account for their failure in not having made the argument the principal point, as if it were their plain duty to make their praise or blame turn, at any rate primarily, on that alone. Now, is not this in effect the expression of the conviction that a wrong belief is worse than a perverted conscience? The truer line is surely to give moral considerations the first place, and then to proceed to those which are intellectual; or better still, because human nature is more than conscience *plus* intellect, to regard the matter from an inclusively human point of view, taking care that the governing force is conscience.

Having said so much, not in self-defence, but in the hope that the reiteration may produce more effect than the original suggestion, I may now point out that I expressly undertook to deal with the argument, or the supposed argument, of *Robert Elsmere* in a concluding paper. Strongly as I feel that the argument should come second, it would be unwisdom indeed to overlook it altogether.

"But is it true that 'real argument there is none' in this book?" Well, that depends on what is meant by argument. If it means the starting with accepted facts as premises, and then working out conclusions from these, according to strict logical methods, then there is no argument in *Robert Elsmere*. Of course I was not the first to point this out; the fact is so patent that it seems to have struck a large percentage of readers. Indeed, I have rarely observed in any like case such unanimity of opinion. And yet doubtless to many the effect is far otherwise. They read the book in almost total ignorance of the questions discussed, they note and are infected by the moral earnestness of the writer. They observe the many marks of her possessing a

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powerful mind stored with unusual erudition. They see her laying down the law on many crucial points—*e.g.*, the possibility of miracles, the results of historical criticism, the varying evidential value of testimony—and they see too that her views on all these things are stated to have been overwhelmingly convincing to the candid mind of the hero of the story. And so there is danger, real danger, *under certain conditions*—which I will deal with before I conclude this paper—of their being carried away.

But when with sober mind we examine the real force of the argument, we discover that hardly anything remains but this, that the late Professor Green, of Balliol (if not unintentionally misrepresented), did hold, and that the authoress does hold certain convictions, and that that should be enough for the readers. The argument then is as follows:—

The convictions of Professor Green and Mrs. Ward must be warrant enough for the readers of *Robert Elsmere.*

The convictions of Professor Green and of Mrs. Ward are such as are displayed in the later career of the hero.

*Therefore* the conscientious and thoughtful reader must give up his orthodox Christianity and embrace an ardent but most shadowy theism.

I have in the above syllogism said nothing as to the Squire's convictions, or those of Robert Elsmere, because they only represent those of the authoress; whereas the convictions of Professor Green and Mrs. Ward are solid facts; and his, at any rate, few wise people can afford to altogether despise. Something of this kind of thought appears very prominently in one place in the story (p. 536 of the one volume edition), where the hero is standing by the open grave of Mr. Grey [*i.e.*, Professor Green], and meditates on "the triumphant outbursts of the Christian service." "'Man's hope,' he thought, 'has grown humbler than this. It keeps now a more modest mien in the presence of the Eternal Mystery; but is it in truth less real, less sustaining? Let Grey's trust answer for me.'"

I do not blame that tendency to rest on the authority of great souls. Doubtless Mrs. Humphry Ward has been greatly

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influenced by the convictions of Professor Green; in her dedication she speaks of her "faith about" him, and, so, many of her readers have been much influenced by *her* convictions. Let all due weight be given to both, but let due weight be also given to the convictions of Him, Who spoke and lived and died as no other man ever did. If the argument is to rest—as in the main I think it does, and ever will—on the convictions of great souls Mrs. Ward must not complain if we much prefer, if we infinitely prefer the convictions of Jesus Christ to hers and Professor Green's. This is the point on which Dr. Wace so wisely based his argument against "Agnosticism" at the Manchester Church Congress, and which, in replying in the *Nineteenth Century* of March to Professor Huxley's most misleading attack in the preceding number, he has substantiated and enforced. I trust I may be allowed to quote some few words of my own, in a paper on "Agnosticism Opposed to all Noble Aspirations," in the *Church Sunday School Magazine* of January, 1884—"*It comes to this, that Jesus Christ said one thing, and Professor Huxley and Herbert Spencer say the opposite.*"

I have already referred to Mrs. Ward laying down the law on certain crucial points. Take first *the possibility of miracles*, which is put aside as if it were a mark of ignorance and almost imbecility to defend it. In the account of Robert's lecture of which so much is made comes the following (pp. 494-95):—

"'*There*,' he said slowly, 'in the unbroken sequences of nature, in the physical history of the world, in the long history of man, physical, intellectual, moral—*there* lies the revelation of God. There is no other, my friends!'

"Then, while the room hung on his words, he entered on a brief exposition of the text, '*Miracles do not happen*,' re-stating Hume's old argument, and adding to it some of the most cogent of those modern arguments drawn from literature, from history, from the comparative study of religions and religious evidence, which were not practically at Hume's disposal, but which are now affecting the popular mind as Hume's reasoning could never have affected it.

"We are now able to show how miracle, or the belief in

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it, which is the same thing, comes into being. The study of miracle in all nations, and under all conditions, yields everywhere the same results. Miracle may be the child of imagination, of love, nay, of a passionate sincerity, but invariably it lives with ignorance and is withered by knowledge!"

This really appears at first sight to be a logical argument, but when looked at it is seen to be a collection of statements. If these statements are true, then the conclusion must be that of Mrs. Ward. But to the best of my knowledge—for I do not wish to lay down the law—many of the statements are baseless, indeed the very opposite of the truth.

It is almost impossible to suggest any *rational* explanation of the existence in the Gospels of the records of our Lord's miracles except the existence of the miracles. And I say this in the light of the rationalistic inquiries of the last hundred years. It is their trend which leads me to make the assertion strongly. That is to say, the tendency of modern inquiry is to make the evidence for the Gospel miracles stronger than it was before the inquiry began. Formerly it was mainly a matter of unquestioning faith; now it is also a matter of almost certain knowledge. At least that is what all my inquiries have led me to hold as the only reasonable position when *all* the facts are taken into account.

To this question of miracles I shall return again, but I will now deal with what lies at the base of Mrs. Ward's view, *i.e.*, the superior trustworthiness of critics in regard to the discovery of the real facts; and here it will save trouble if I quote from my first Boyle Lecture for 1888.

"In *Robert Elsmere*," I said, "Mrs. Ward writes with most amusing naïvete, 'Then' (*i.e.*, after M. Rénan, the Protestant of rigid orthodoxy, and the liberal Anglican have all had their say), 'then appears the critic, having no interests to serve, no *parti-pris* to defend.' Surely the authoress, who in her argument is nothing if not historical, has strangely overlooked the most striking fact of New Testament criticism, viz., that the prejudices of a Paulus, a Strauss, a Baur were only equalled by their—*failure*."

It has been suggested that Mrs. Ward was advised by her

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publishers to omit much that might have made for her view. If so, her argument has suffered unjustly in the interests of literary proportion; but we are now in a fair position to recover anything suppressed, for in the *Nineteenth Century* of March our authoress had a long article, *The New Reformation*, dealing with this very subject. My own impression is that that article will, and ought to, produce an unfavourable impression, and in this respect. With more elucidation of her reasons there is also a most unpleasant increase in arrogance of tone, and she has greatly added to the grave offence she gave by her statement in *Robert Elsmere* (p. 354): "'Westcott, for instance, who means so much nowadays to the English religious world, first isolates Christianity from all the other religious phenomena of the world, and then argues upon its details. You might as well isolate English jurisprudence, and discuss its details, without any reference to Teutonic custom or Roman law! You may be as logical or as learned as you like within the limits chosen, but the whole result is false! You treat Christian witness and Biblical literature as you would treat no other witness, and no other literature in the world. And you cannot show cause enough. For your reasons depend on the very witness under dispute. And so you go on arguing in a circle *ad infinitum*.'"

The Dean of Windsor having remonstrated with her—*Contemporary Review*, October, 1888, *The Religious Novel*—for speaking in such disparaging terms of the great Cambridge philosopher, theologian, and scholar, Mrs. Ward has somewhat fully defended her view (*Nineteenth Century*, 477-78), and I cannot hardly help applying to her statements the word impertinent—she writes with such a quiet but decided assumption of superiority, treating the great thinker *de haut en bas*. She clearly does not perceive her own deep prejudice. She will not for a moment allow the possibility that Christ could have been more than a very good man. And therefore she drags down the records of Him and of His works to the level of what she sees outside.

The Christian finds himself in the presence of a Personality which strikes him as utterly unlike all other human personali-



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ties. He is unable to describe the fact before him except as a moral miracle. And yet Mrs. Ward says, "You cannot show cause enough." What evidence can possibly surpass the Christian evidence? The Personality which seems all Divine while also all human, with the whole environment—I mean a great deal more than the miracles proper, for there is the Book, the Prophecies, the Jews, the Resurrection, the Church, the witness within each true Christian—with, I say, *the whole environment to match.* And we are gravely rated because we do not overlook all this, and because we *cannot* put other religious founders or sacred books on the same level with Jesus or the Bible. Surely in any matter of human interest Dean Mansel's words, "Affection is part of insight; it is wanted for gaining due acquaintance with the facts of the case," are amongst the wisest and truest ever uttered; yet our authoress (*Nineteenth Century*, pp. 459, 477-78) finds fault with Canon Westcott and others for learning from their "affection"!

But I must now hasten on to deal with what is probably the strongest view entertained by the authoress—the evidential value of testimony varying with each particular age.

"'Oh, well,' said the Squire hastily, 'it is a book I planned just after I took my Doctor's degree at Berlin. It struck me then as the great want of modern scholarship. It is a History of Evidence, or rather, more strictly, "A History of *Testimony*."'

"Robert started. The library flashed into his mind, and Langham's figure in the long grey coat sitting on the stool.

"'A great subject,' he said slowly, 'a magnificent subject. How have you conceived it, I wonder?'

"'Simply from the standpoint of evolution, of development. The philosophical value of the subject is enormous. You must have considered it, of course; every historian must. But few people have any idea in detail of the amount of light which the history of human witness in the world, systematically carried through, throws on the history of the human mind; that is to say, on the history of ideas'" (p. 314).

And then a very anti-Christian discourse follows.

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Now such statements are calculated to greatly impress the unwary. The opinion of the profoundly erudite Roger Wendover would carry much weight. But, then, this is really Mrs. Ward's opinion, which is a different matter.

It is perhaps hardly to the exact point, though it may throw considerable light on the whole of Mrs. Ward's views, and certainly ought not to be overlooked in these discussions, that *the* writer on Evidence of that nation of jurists, the people of the United States of America, has dealt with one large portion of it. I have before me the title page of a book, which besides a *Harmony of the Gospels*, &c., contains *An Examina- of the Testimony of the Four Evangelists, by the Rules of Evidence, administered in Courts of Justice*, with an account of *The Trial of Jesus*. By Simon Greenleaf, LL.D., Dane Professor of Law in Harvard University. I cannot help thinking that most critics are unaware how absurdly they traverse the rules of *legal* evidence in regard to the genuineness of documents by their demands of proof of the authorship of our Four Gospels. At any rate, there can be no doubt as to the value of the favourable judgment of this admired and standard authority.

But saying no more at present on that point, we may well briefly consider the application of the Squire's, *i.e.*, Mrs. Ward's, theory as to the varying force of testimony.

In general the truth of it goes without saying. The question for *us* is how to apply it to the Christian records. Mrs. Ward's view is that the times of Christ were of such a character that the value of testimony was then almost *nil*. Now it bears on this matter to note that Mrs. Ward—I have heard it on good authority—is an historical expert in some mediæval periods. Also that (*Robert Elsmere*, p. 197) Robert in describing his historical researches to Langham said, "'So I took my Final Schools' history for a basis, and started on the Empire, especially the decay of the Empire. Some day I mean to take up one of the episodes in *the great birth of Europe—the makings of France, I think, most likely. It seems to lead farthest and tell most.*'" (The italics are mine).

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Well then, are we to regard the testimony of the time of Christ as having the value of that of our own century, or that of the darkest period of mediæval Europe? And there will come the farther question, whether there is anything in our Christian records which manifestly stamps them with the hall-mark of unalloyed veracity.

First then as to the *age*. Was it an age of readiness to accept anything and everything without examination? My own impression, which I give only for what it is worth, is that the times of Jesus Christ in many respects remarkably agreed with those in which we live. Pontius Pilate in Jerusalem, it has often occurred to me, might well find his parallel, not indeed in character and act, but in his mental environment, in an English proconsul in India, say the Viceroy at Simla. Could an English sceptic find a better expression of his present feelings than Pilate's "What is truth?" Have not our English rationalists excellent forerunners in the Sadducees? And are not the deniers of the Resurrection well matched by those Stoics and Epicurean philosophers who derided St. Paul on Mars' Hill?

"But then, you know, every religious hero was credited with supernatural powers. They lived in an atmosphere of marvels." Well, I reply, that may be so outside the Bible; but I do not find it so within its covers. It is hardly possible to imagine a man more likely to be credited with the power of working miracles than John the Baptist. Yet not only is no miracle of any kind ascribed to him, but the writer of the Fourth Gospel distinctly states, "John did no miracle," and does so not on his own authority, but as the record of the current opinion of the contemporaries of John and Jesus.

And this leads me to the second point, the unapproachable truthfulness of the Bible. The collapse of the attacks of rationalists has been very largely due to the intense sense of the veracity of the Gospels which every high-minded man must experience as he studies them. One often hears of the effect produced in a court of justice by the look, and tone, and manner of a witness. Now the New Testament

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has produced just such an effect on myriads of thoughtful minds and honest hearts. We are too diffident in our defence. *The Bible is really the standard of testimony.*

As I read *The Service of Man* or *Robert Elsmere*, I decline to regard either book as written with any willing unfairness (I have often heard both denounced as very unfair). They bear to me the marks of genuine conviction. I might be mistaken *there.* But the New Testament is no lately published work. It has been read for nearly 2,000 years by such persons as I have just referred to, and almost with one consent they have been convinced of its really superhuman veracity. It may be said that the writers were honest; yet they might have been mistaken. Hardly so; if, as modern criticism has almost proved, the Gospels were written about the time we supposed. For it was the honesty of the sacred writers which compelled the earlier rationalists, with their strong *parti-pris* against miracles, to insist upon a long period of legendary growth, and therefore to postdate the Gospels. *Their* argument recoils on their successors, whom one discovery after another has compelled to assign a much earlier dating than is consistent with the mythic theory.

Besides, St. Paul's undoubted Epistles, dating about A.D. 55, show what was very early thought about Christ, indeed long before the time of their actual composition, for the Apostle to the Gentiles was converted only a few years after the death of Christ. *We* find it difficult to see the wonder of such writings as *Romans*, *Corinthians* 1 and 2, and *Galatians.* But suppose they stood alone, with no Gospels to explain them. Why it would be as necessary, in a strictly scientific point of view, to look for just such a God-man as we believe in, as it was natural for a Leverrier or an Adams to search for the unseen Neptune, which alone could account for the perturbation of the planet, till then regarded as the outermost member of our solar system.

But then may it be said, "Mrs. Ward speaks of Jesus holding a view as to *Daniel* inconsistent with the facts" (pp. 320-21). I reply, There is, I allow, a difficulty, and *I*

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cannot remove it. But recollect *you* are not *sure* when Daniel was written; you are not sure what Jesus meant by endorsing it. But *we are* sure that, to say the least, a God-like man held the highest views as to the value of the Old Testament; and after the miserable collapse of past attacks on the New Testament it is your wisdom not to think of attacking it afresh by an innuendo against Him of Whom the New Testament is full.

It happens that in the very number of the *Nineteenth Century* to which I have already referred so often, there is one of the most conclusive evidences of the mistake that an honest man, full of prejudice, may make as regards the value of the testimony of the Gospels. I refer to Professor Huxley's article, "The Value of Witness to the Miraculous." The state of mind in which he must have penned it is simply amazing. He positively chooses the most hopelessly unlike period to illustrate the times of Jesus. I have already drawn attention to the known researches of Mrs. Ward and the supposed studies of Robert Elsmere. And now we find the Professor actually unearthing *The History of the Translation of the Blessed Martyrs of Christ, SS. Marcellinus and Petrus*, by Eginhard, a courtier of Charlemagne, who wrote about A.D. 830—as a commentary on the Gospels! At any rate, it might have been supposed that we should have had set before us some *very saintly lives*, apparently truthfully delineated, but with an admixture of gross superstitions and incredible marvels. Whereas what is connected with the superstitions and marvels is a simple record of *lying and stealing;* on which the Professor's own comment is, "For a parallel to these transactions one must read a police report of the doings of a 'long firm,' or of a set of horse-coupers; yet Eginhard seems to be aware of nothing, but that he has been rather badly used by his friend Hildoin, and the 'nequissimus nebulo' Hunus!" (pp. 147-48).

Would it have been believed possible that this degrading story is produced as an absolute parallel to our sacred records, so far as the validity of its testimony is concerned? Mr. Huxley draws special attention to the "mental and

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moral habits" (p. 450, Note) of Eginhard. He cannot mean that the "moral" habits of the sacred writers were of the same stamp! And if the difference in morality was so immense, why should he assume that the mental habits were the same. Yet he roundly argues, "If the evidence of Eginhard is insufficient to lead reasonable men to believe in the miracles he relates, *à fortiori* the evidence afforded by the Gospels and the Acts must be so" (p. 450). I regard this comparison as grossly insulting to the Professor's readers, and—I say it with grave sorrow—his own mental and moral habits, in regard to criticism, seem to have been sadly lowered by the unfortunate views he glories in holding. I deeply regret that such an article should be associated with a name which many Christians besides myself have wished to hold in honour.

To return to Mrs. Ward. I ask her to be a little more sure of the age in which she lives, and to which she attributes so keen a scientific, critical, and historical insight. This *is* a scientific age; yet look at spiritualism, and the great scientists who have more or less endorsed it. She may reply, "The worse for them!" I reply, The worse for your view as to the superiority of this age. Or rather, Are you not mistaken as to the cause of the variation or the value of testimony? Should you not rather look to the character of the acts of the persons to whom and by whom testimony is now borne or was borne 1,800 years ago? If the New Testament set before us such marvels as spiritualists believe in, you might reject them and spiritualism too. But, as I have already pointed out, Christianity sets before us a Book, a People, a Preparation, a Prophecy, a Person, a Life, a Death, a Resurrection, a Coming of the Holy Ghost, and a new Spiritual Life, still existing and increasing, of the type of 1 Corinthians xiii. And we say, and think we say justly, It is all of one piece, the whole hangs together; or rather, it is all vitally one; and the only thing I have omitted to name—Miracles—must be added, because all those other things, being superhuman and supernatural, require that there should have been (*natural* in *their* sphere) superhuman and supernatural actions also.

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One other matter raised by *Robert Elsmere* needs perhaps a few words. We have, in the main, been considering the reasonableness of the orthodox view, and we have, I hope, found it amply justified. But what of Mrs. Ward's belief? Is *it* reasonable; can it claim our allegiance? Well, I have already named the main ground for the claim; we are to accept it because it was held by Professor Green, because it is held by our authoress. But why, to use Mr. Andrew Lang's admirable term, we should be content to rest all our hopes and aspirations on that particular "ledge," on which Mrs. Ward thinks we can find safety, does not otherwise appear.

Very vehement and earnest are her expressions of conviction in the existence and claims of God, but the reasons for both are far to seek—I mean in her point of view.

Perhaps no better passage can be found to illustrate Mrs. Ward's view than that I take from p. 408. It has a special value because it really throws light on the whole career of Robert Elsmere. "Abstract thought," as Mr. Grey saw, "had had comparatively little to do with Elsmere's relinquishment of the Church of England. But as soon as the Christian bases of faith were overthrown, that faith had naturally to find for itself other supports and attachments. For faith itself—in God and a spiritual order—had been so wrought into the nature by years of reverent and adoring living that nothing could destroy it. With Elsmere, as with all men of religious temperament, belief in Christianity and faith in God had not at the outset been a matter of reasoning at all, but of sympathy, feeling, association, daily experience. Then the intellect had broken in and destroyed or transformed the belief in Christianity. But after the crash, *faith* emerged as strong as ever, only craving and eager to make a fresh peace, a fresh compact with the reason."

A multitude of comments on this passage crowd into one's mind, which the limits of this paper forbid my naming; but it may be well to ask whether Elsmere would have had that "faith in God" apart from his "belief in Christianity," or whether "reverent and adoring living" is possible in highly

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civilised and cultured societies apart from Christianity. "Sympathy, feeling, association, daily experience;" I hardly know exactly what importance *Mrs. Ward* assigns to them. In the light of a long and careful study of human nature, *I* assign to them a very high place in the matter of reasonable belief. But this is surely plain, that what Mrs. Ward calls *faith* derived its life from these, and that Elsmere's abiding faith really rested on these. That is, he mainly owed his theism to Christianity. What availing answer a de-Christianised theism has to agnosticism, positivism, pantheism, pessimism, there is no evidence to show that our writer has even considered, but I imagine that they would make short work of her defence. The fact is, that the arguments of a Martineau and a Green, admirable as they are, fail both in argument and in uplifting force, so long as they are simply, theistic; it is Christian theism which gives them completeness and vital energy. A certain sub-consciousness of the vagueness of Mrs. Ward's theism occasionally crops up; on the one occasion when it clearly emerges, it strikes a chill into one's very heart, coupled as it is with Robert's dying moments.

"'I often lie here, Flaxman, wondering at the way in which men become the slaves of some metaphysical word—*personality* or *intelligence*, or what not! What meaning can they have as applied to *God?* Herbert Spencer is quite right. We no sooner attempt to define what we mean by a Personal God than we lose ourselves in labyrinths of language and logic. But why attempt it at all? I like that French saying, "*Quand on me demande ce que c'est que Dieu, je l'ignore; quand on ne me le demande pas, je le sais très bien!*" No, we cannot realize Him in words—we can only live in Him, and die to Him!'" (p. 603).

No wonder just before (p. 600) we read, "Yet he did not talk much of immortality, of reunion. It was like a scrupulous child that dares not take for granted more than its father has allowed it to know. At the same time it was plain to those about him that the only realities to him in a world of shadows were God—love—the soul."

But *why* realities to any one else who had not had the

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advantages of, in most respects, a peculiarly happy experience! Reduce Christ to a purely human figure, who, by an accident, is the ideal for Europe ("'Just as the lives of Buddha and of Mohammed are wrought ineffaceably into the civilisation of Africa and Asia, so the life of Jesus is wrought ineffaceably into the higher civilisation, the nobler social conceptions, of Europe'"—pp. 495-96); etherialise the conception of God till you know nothing about Him which can bring comfort and strength to an agnostic as to life after death, and then go forth to a world lying in sin, and sorrow, and bereavement, and preach that Gospel to it, and see what fruit you will have of your labour!

"The only 'articles' of the new faith" were (p. 577) "'*In Thee, O Eternal have I put my trust.*' '*This do in remembrance of Me.*'" Sustaining, constraining words to Christians, but to the "New Brotherhood of Christ" nerveless. For how, in real life, shall men put their trust in a shadowy abstraction, which its apostles cannot in any way define? Why should men be called to a perpetual remembrance of one, whom to worship Mrs. Ward regards as idolatry? There is more of real argument in a few words of Catherine's than in all Mrs. Ward's suggestions and reasonings. "'How can that help them?' she said abruptly. 'Your historical Christ, Robert, will never win souls. If He was God, every word you speak will insult Him. If He was man, He was not a good man!'" (p. 480).

The fact is that theism apart from orthodox Christianity is of almost all systems the least logical. Unitarians are generally supposed to lay special claim to their faith being based on intellectual conviction, while that of ordinary Christians is a blind and uncritical faith. I have taken some pains to verify this claim, and I have come to the opinion that Unitarians have not got any solid rock of certainty to stand upon, and that they are, as Unitarians, utterly defenceless against all those assaults which we may sum up in the word "pessimism," which are the only assaults worth seriously meeting. There is, I believe, no defence except in the Cross

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of Christ, and that the Unitarian has evacuated of all its power. He is, quite unconsciously, led by the nobility of his aspirations and the sympathy of his heart to hold such a creed as he professes, but on the intellectual side he is weak. He shelters himself behind that very system which he denounces as idolatrous and unreasoning, but which in its calm strength protects him from the tornado that would sweep his own creed into the abyss.

And now, in conclusion, I again return to the consideration of the effect that this novel is likely to produce. Well, I have pointed out its many excellences and I have drawn attention to its grave defects. I have also stated my view that the *sum total* of its influence ought to be for good. Many a novel of perfect orthodoxy and free from actual immoralities might do much more real harm by its lack of a high and noble ideal. But am I justified in setting forth that, certainly unusual, view of the book? I imagine some one asking, "If the faith of many who read *Robert Elsmere* is shaken thereby, is not the book a dangerous book?" I reply by another question, "To *whom* is it dangerous in that way?" For a much more important consideration than *Robert Elsmere* itself is the reason why readers are so liable to be led astray by it.

They are liable, either (*a*) because they have no real hold of Christ with *all* their nature; or (*b*) because they are utterly uninstructed in Apologetics, and have no common sense.

(*a*) Supposing a person is a true Christian, believing in (*into* in the Greek) Christ, joined to Him by heart affection, willing devotion, intellectual conviction, and a bleeding and sin-stricken conscience—could such a book dislodge him from his faith? I fancy that not seeing a sufficient reply at once, and not thinking it honest to disregard the difficulty, he would be pained and *bewildered*—but not really *shaken*. And it seems to me a blot in the character of Robert Elsmere that he could have surrendered his creed as he did. He suffered greatly, but what would have been involved in his losing that view of Christ which ought to have been necessitated by his former belief, was more than suffering. It should have been

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*torment and spiritual ruin.* And before he could have come to that pass, he would surely have had time to see his hasty intellectual mistakes in regard to the supposed weakness of Christian testimony.

But I must confess I am not sure whether I have taken a perfectly correct view of Robert Elsmere's character. In my first paper I spoke very warmly of him, though pointing out certain grave defects. A longer consideration of him and of the book has somewhat lowered my estimate of both. Had he any business to be happy in the society of such people as Madame de Netteville gathered round her? Had he any right to be a constant companion of such a man as the Squire? From the beginning to the end there is no evidence that he had any deep sense of the sinfulness of sin; and where that does not exist I doubt whether a Christian faith in Christ and God can long exist. Much, too, of Robert's conduct to his wife was inconsiderate to the last degree. Indeed, the more I study the character of both, the more I am struck with the comparative shallowness of the husband and the splendid nobility of the wife.

(*b*) There is the other alternative. And what does that mean but that Christian people are so *ignorant* of what has been written by hundreds of defenders of the faith, and are so *lacking in ordinary prudence* that, while they know, or ought to know, that they know nothing about the points discussed, yet because they cannot produce the reply they will surrender their faith without a word? Surely common sense would say, "Think 'once, twice, thrice' on so solemn a matter, and of course consult some one who *does* know."

Yes, it is not *Robert Elsmere* that is the *cause* of the mischief, though it may be the *occasion*. The cause is either (*a*) the lack of true Christianity, or (*b*) blank ignorance and stupidity. And for these the clergy and other ministers of religion are gravely responsible. If the writing of *Robert Elsmere* shall lead to greater attention being drawn to both of these serious defects, it will not have been written in vain.

C. LLOYD ENGSTRÖM.

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# PRINCIPAL TULLOCH.

"THE lives of the leaders of modern thought" had a place of their own in the Prospectus of this Review. Principal Tulloch may fairly be enrolled on this list; and Mrs. Oliphant's recently published *Memoir* furnishes ample material.

It is perhaps worth noticing, *in limine*, that the little University of St. Andrew's has supplied the subjects of two such biographies, issued almost contemporaneously, as Mrs. Oliphant's *Memoir of Principal Tulloch* and Professor Knight's *Principal Shairp and his Friends*. One is rather surprised at the reticence of each of these two books as to the subject of the other. In Principal Shairp's *Life* Principal Tulloch is rarely mentioned; in Principal Tulloch's *Life* we hear a little more of Principal Shairp, but his name does not occur above half-a-dozen times in the entire volume.

Of the literary quality of Mrs. Oliphant's *Memoir* it is scarcely necessary to speak. Obviously the biographer of Edward Irving has bent her whole strength to produce a book that can stand side by side with one of the most delicious and masterly biographies the English language holds, the *Life of Edward Irving*. Her present subject is far less attractive intrinsically. It lacks the excitement, the picturesqueness of Edward Irving's career. In Tulloch's life there was nothing strange or novel. Less scope, therefore, is afforded for artistic treatment than in the authoress's earlier biography. And there are other differences. Irving moved in a wider sphere than Tulloch, and was more a man of action than he. It were a feat beyond all literary skill to render the quiet, academic life as interesting and impressive as that of the brilliant orator, the enthusiastic preacher, the strangely misled genius. Yet the *Memoir of Principal Tulloch* has characteristics of its own—tender, lingering touches of a loving hand,



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personal reminiscences that pleasantly make the most of small incidents, and a certain glow shedding continually subdued brightness and warmth. The two biographies certainly may bear each other company. One great advantage the present volume enjoys. The authoress came into sufficiently close contact with Tulloch to study the man intimately and minutely, and to write of him with affectionate appreciation. Yet she stood sufficiently aloof from him to judge fairly of his proportions, and to utter genuine sentiments and opinions with the freedom of one outside the circle of the family.

Excellent as this *Memoir* is, it is marred by one serious defect. We see the eager, persevering student, the University professor and officer, the successful author, the royal chaplain, the ecclesiastical leader, the busy man of affairs, and even the frequent occupant of the pulpit; but we are always in danger of forgetting that we are reading the life of a sworn minister of the Gospel, or even a decided Christian. Not that the element of experimental religion is wholly absent, but it very rarely crops up to the surface. Mrs. Oliphant assures us that she has suppressed numerous records of spiritual emotion, aspiration, and struggle as "too sacred for the public eye." She shall state her own reasons for this reticence. After citing the close of one of Tulloch's letters to his wife—"I feel deeply how irreligious, impatient, and irritable, and merely earthly some of my feelings have been, but I have had more serious feelings to-day, though I cannot say much about them. There is undoubtedly a deep comfort in casting one's self upon God, and leaving issues to Him. If we had only more faith and living feeling of His presence to do this. I cannot take up the language and feeling of many on such subjects, but I would wish to have a deeper experience of the realities which I preach"—she comments:

"I may add that many utterances of the same description are to be found in the occasional diaries, kept from time to time, scattered through various little books, now containing the musings of a few days, now a longer record of months, which are full of devout aspirations and many prayers—struggles against the errors of temper, which he

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felt to be his besetting sin, and earnest endeavours after a more and more deep realization of things unseen. There are some readers who would perhaps prefer a fuller revelation of these private musings to the actual records of his life; but the secret prayers and aspirations of the soul are at once too sacred and too similar to other outpourings of religious feeling to justify, I think, the tearing asunder of the veil in which nature has shouded us. He would himself have deeply disliked any such invasion of his privacy. 'I cannot say much about them' is his sentiment. With many of those who feel most deeply this incapability is the most strong" (p. 137).

Unquestionably this plea has force, whether we regard it as a general principle or as peculiarly applicable to Tulloch's case. It arouses in some minds an almost instinctive sympathy. The real point at issue, however, is whether religious biography should be written at all. If all records of devout emotion and communion with God ought to be left for ever in their original privacy, religious biography becomes an impertinence, an outrage, a sacrilege. The purpose of a memoir must determine the extent of such revelations, and in some degree it is a matter of the taste and the judgement. Two considerations, however, must not be overlooked. To one we have already adverted. The life of a Christian minister cannot rightly be treated as though his ministerial character and functions were subordinate to other more important duties and activities; and his biography ought not to be composed so as to convey the impression, under protest though it be, that insufficient thought was given to the practical and experimental aspects of Christianity. On the other point we must dwell lightly, though it cannot be left altogether unnoticed. Mrs. Oliphant has never manifested much sympathy with that side of genuine piety which concerns itself with the discipline of the heart and the cultivation of conscious fellowship with Christ. It is not too much to say that she has failed conspicuously to understand it. Witness the "evangelical monsters"[1] of her earlier novels. The bearing of this fact does not require to be indicated.

[1] The phrase is Professor Blackie's.—*Cunningham Lectures*, 1888, p. 182.

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John Tulloch entered the ministry of the Church of Scotland in 1845. He was then twenty-two years of age. A more favourable opportunity for a young man of ability to make his mark could not be desired. The disruption had not long been consummated. So many of the men of light and leading had seceded, and so great was the popular enthusiasm on their behalf, that the old Kirk seemed to deserve the name that was bestowed upon it, half contemptuously, half hopefully, "the Residuary Church." Capable, forceful men could not but rise to the surface. Unprecedented room offered itself for a career. From the first, young Tulloch was fully resolved upon distinguishing himself. He coveted a professorial chair, and trusted sooner or later to win it. During his college course he had achieved some reputation for both physical and mental powers; and he knew himself to be possessed of higher abilities than he had yet displayed. His attitude towards the Disruption is curiously characteristic. He witnessed the procession which signalised the actual formation of the breach. He calls the secession "awfully serious," adding "God alone knows what are to be the consequences," and "many are perfectly astonished at such a sacrifice for principle." But so little did he think of following the example thus set that the very next sentence reads, "Had I been ready, I might have had, I daresay, my choice of a kirk." More than once, in after life, he paid a generous tribute to the conscientiousness and heroism of the men who risked every worldly prospect and comfort, and surrendered much both substantially and sentimentally valuable, rather than yield "the crown-rights of the Lord Jesus," as they apprehended them. But whilst the movement was in progress he felt but faint attraction towards it. Dr. Dickson, one of his early friends, writes of this period, "For a considerable time his sympathies, which in ordinary politics were towards the Whigs, or almost Radical party, induced him to take a lively interest in the Non-intrusion controversy, and tended at first towards the views of those who subsequently formed the Free Church. But he became satisfied that the claims put forward by them for exclusive jurisdiction, under

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cover of the so-called Headship of Christ, were not dissimilar to those of the Papacy, and inconsistent with a due recognition of the peace of the State." Practically this position differed infinitesimally from that held by his father. The elder Tulloch, minister of Tibbermuir, encouraged the champions of Non-intrusion to visit his parish, presided at one of their meetings, and expressed general approval of their resistance. But he would not follow them in the secession, and they themselves admitted that he had never led them to expect that he would do so.

Probably Mrs. Oliphant is right when she says of Dr. Dickson's testimony, "This seems almost too formal a conclusion to have been arrived at in the heat of the moment." It carries evidence of calm reflection and investigation. Quite possibly some such thought floated vaguely in the young man's mind, and afterwards took shape and precision. In 1843 he appears to have accepted it as a matter of course that he should become a clergyman, and that his ministry should be exercised in the Established Church of Scotland. Until his ordination was close at hand, when the solemn significance of the service awed and quickened him, he treats the sacred office simply as his destined profession. A sadly amusing outburst of petulance chronicles the to him surprising refusal of the Presbytery of Perth to issue his licence whilst he was still under age. "It will affect my prospects," he complains, and has no conception that there is either Providence or wisdom in the delay.

In common fairness, something must be said on the other side. When the lucrative and dignified charge of Arbroath is offered to him by the Crown, he hesitates and finally declines the responsibility from a sense of his unfitness for so onerous a cure of souls. After his installation as assistant-minister at Dundee, and some experience of pastoral work, he writes to an intimate friend:

"I solemnly confess to you that had I, previous to taking licence, viewed the office with the same feelings as I have done since, I could not, if I know my own mind, have taken it. That I now really regret having done so I do not say, nor do I humbly conceive



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that to be implied in what I do say, as it would be very contrary to what I tacitly expressed in my ordination vows. So strongly, however, and so painfully did these feelings sway me for a time, that I was almost at the giving-up point. That that has not been the result has arisen from many combined influences weighing with me. I have no time to explain them, as you, I daresay, have little desire to hear them explained."

From this time may be dated a worthier and more serious view of the ministry. But the pastorate always seemed irksome to him, however conscientiously he endeavoured to discharge its obligations. Always did he eagerly long for a professoriate.

Friction and awkwardness having arisen in connection with the curacy at Dundee, Tulloch was ordained to a district church with a species of parish specially carved out for him. Shortly after this settlement he married Miss Hindmarsh. The union proved thoroughly happy. Few men have been more blessed in their wives than Tulloch in his. Despite his bodily and intellectual vigour, he needed some one on whom he could lean, on whose help and sympathy he could depend at any moment, who could appreciate the tenderness of his nature in the midst of his continuous and rather exacting demands. All this, and more than all, he found in Mrs. Tulloch. No sooner had the young couple taken up their abode in their new home than the pecuniary burdens began, which they were never wholly free from to their lives ends. Without a word of warning the Town Council cut down the endowment of the district church from £275 to £105 per annum. Henceforth Tulloch continually complains of his limited income. There is no trace of pinching poverty. He can always find money for holidays and travels. And there is nothing sordid or querulous about his grumbling. Indeed, he rather makes a statement than grieves or murmurs. But he is never satisfied with his financial position. In later life his income, "A. K. H. B." declares, was at least equal to that of an English dean. But the sense of insufficiency was never absent. He had been married some eighteen months when a slight illness induced him to seek rest and quiet in Germany.

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No record remains to show that his three month's visit to that country affected his theological views. One of his objects was to become more familiar with the language. Previously he had spent some time and pains over it, and he had experienced the fascination of German Biblical and theological literature, then just beginning to exert a preceptible influence on some of the younger and more scholarly of Scotch ministers. It is hardly conceivable that his stay in Germany did not add force to this attraction.

Tulloch was little more than thirty years of age when he was gazetted Principal of St. Mary's and Professor of Theology. The moment the vacancy occurred he hoped to derive some advantage from it. He entered into an informal compact with Dr. Brown, the second theological professor, to push their joint-candidature—Brown for promotion, Tulloch for the reversion of Brown's chair. Unfortunately for himself, Dr. Brown had offended the English Government. Owing chiefly to Baron Bunsen's influence the higher post was conferred upon the younger man. The appointment took almost everybody interested in it by surprise. The new Principal had done very little indeed to justify his elevation. To a very narrow circle he was known as a diligent student and a clear thinker. He had written several articles in newspapers, reviews, and other serials, which showed penetration, carefulness, and quality—promise of higher performance in the future. Notably, he had written the article on "Hippolytus" in the *North British Review.* It was this article, as all the world is aware, that procured his early advancement. Able and skilful that article indisputably is. But its ability and skill could claim for themselves only a small share in its success. The tone, the acquaintance with recent German theological literature, the high appreciation of that literature and evident sympathy with its tendency, the free handling of the subject, pointed out the author as a man likely to infuse into Presbyterian theology and the training of candidates for the Presbyterian ministry a more "broad" and "liberal" spirit than had been customary, or perhaps even known hitherto. Tulloch went to St. Andrew's as the chosen representatives of

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the *Zeitgeist* in theology and Biblical criticism and exegesis. So far as in him lay, and as opportunity arose, he fulfilled his mission.

Four years before his appointment to St. Mary's he had been transferred from Dundee to Kettins. In that country charge he had gained experience in parochial work, and had found leisure for his literary undertakings. There he had completed his first volume, though its very existence was a secret jealously guarded. Shortly after his accession to the Principalship he received the welcome intelligence that he had been adjudged the Second Burnett Prize for an essay on "Theism: the Witness of Reason and Nature to an All-Wise and Beneficent Creator." The cash itself (£600) came opportunely enough, but the partial vindication of an appointment that had aroused a good deal of unfavourable comment was yet more valuable. True, he had obtained only the second prize, and he counted partly on the first—as which of the competitors did not? True also, he had won by the skin of his teeth—two of the arbitrators expressing "a certain preference" for his essay over another, and the third merely acquiescing in a decision which he was powerless to alter. Still he enjoyed both the substantial reward and the honour. And he had also the extreme gratification of knowing that so competent and widely respected a judge as Mr. Erskine of Linlathen pronounced his essay distinctly superior to the one which was ranked first in the competition. The book may be read to advantage at this hour, despite the changes which the hypothesis of Evolution has necessitated in both attack and defence. Of course a portion of the argument has an old-world air, and is not, in form, of much use in current controversy. But it possesses a philosophical strength and precision which too many treatises of similar purpose lack conspicuously; and it faces the moral difficulties connected with the perfect power and the perfect benevolence of God with a honesty that goes some distance towards solving them.

It will be convenient, however, to reserve criticism of Principal Tulloch's writings, and to trace his life-story to its end. His duties as professor of theology furnished fine scope

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for his remarkable gift of personal influence. From St. Andrew's the pulsations of his strong individuality vibrated throughout Scotland. He was busily engaged in schemes of University reform that took him tolerably frequently to London, and helped to bring him into contact with the foremost English statesmen and men of letters. His fame as a preacher grew steadily, if not swiftly; and in 1859 he was appointed one of Her Majesty's Chaplains for Scotland. Twenty-three years later he was gazetted Dean of the Chapel Royal and Dean of the Order of the Thistle. His influence in his own denomination increased day by day, and soon he was recognized externally as one of its foremost representatives, by-and-bye distancing all competitors. His office, first as Second, then as Senior Clerk to the Assembly, yielded him nearly unrivalled opportunities of mastering its business, and of carrying out his own convictions. Gradually he developed into a strong and effective speaker, if he was not a ready and facile debater. And he manifested some of the truest qualities of an ecclesiastical statesman—keen-sightedness, courage, breadth of view, fidelity to principle, ability to gauge public opinion, and willingness to abandon gracefully untenable ground. His literary activity never ceased. In addition to a large number of articles for magazines and reviews, and for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, he published some dozen volumes, not one unworthy of his position and reputation, and one—*Rational Theology*—that is likely to win for itself a permanent place in English literature.

As the years sped on children were born to him. The household was an unusually happy one; the society of which it was centre unusually pleasant and genial. Nevertheless a heavy cloud continually overshadowed him. Early in 1862 the inexplicable illness and misery assailed him, from the incidence or the fear of which he was doomed to suffer for the rest of his life. Probably it had some connection with the disease whereof he died; but the connection was not established, and the symptoms did not indicate their cause. The effect was persistent mental depression and distress. For a considerable time his physical health was not affected by it

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visibly. In the presence of his friends a childlike look of bewilderment and protest appeared in his eyes that provoked smiles as well as tears. Solitude became intolerable to him, and work a worry and a burden. But his splendid physique gave no sign of decay or weakness. Later, however, his wasted, shrunken frame told a very different story. Until the very end the vigour and acuteness of his intellect did not abate jot or tittle. Disinclination to write or think manifested itself; but when the mind was set working it moved with its accustomed lucidity and force. He kept a record of his sensations, which exhibits no tendency to exaggeration, and contains very little that is mentally morbid. The doctors who examined and conversed with him could discover no loss of philosophical acumen or knowledge, no lapse of memory or excessive irritability, though he laments, in his private journal, that he was so "savagely critical" with them. While suffering severely he went through an entire session of the Assembly without fault in his clerkly duties or apparently diminished interest in business. Twice when his mysterious malady was at the worst he undertook rather extensive travels—once on the Continent, once in America—and his observations prove that he was fully possessed of all his faculties. At Rome he delivered to a select company a series of lectures, composed during the journey, on M. Rénan's *Vie de Jésus*, then just published. They were afterwards printed under the title *The Christ of the Gospels and the Christ of Modern History*, and are certainly not the least able of his published works. It would serve no useful purpose to chronicle the issue of the various books written by Principal Tulloch. It suffices to note that *Rational Theology* was issued in 1872, about midway in his Principalship; that he delivered the Croal Lectures on *The Christian Doctrine of Sin* in 1876; and the St. Giles' Lectures on *Movements of Religious Thought in Britain during the Nineteenth Century* less than a year before his death. For a while he edited *Fraser's Magazine*, but his utmost efforts, meritorious and well-directed as they were, failed to resuscitate a moribund serial.

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Mrs. Oliphant heads the last chapter, describing his active life, "For Church and Country." It tells how earnestly and arduously the Principal laboured to avert the threatened disestablishment of the Church of Scotland. It was not that he feared loss of prestige and social status, or that he believed that the Church of Scotland could boast any peculiar Divine right. So far as I can gather from his published utterances, he cherished no intense affection for the Presbyterian method of Church-government, and assuredly no strong conviction in favour of its general expediency or its approximation to the Apostolic or primitive form. He held that its special mission at this day is to maintain the establishment principle, the duty of the State to support a National Church, and the corresponding duty of the Church to ally itself with, and, to an indefinite extent, to submit itself to the State. Whether Episcopacy or Presbyterianism ruled was to him a matter of supreme indifference. So little did he appreciate the theoretical difference between the two, that he could see no difficulty in a pet project of his—the reception of Episcopalian orders in addition to those he already held that he might ensconce himself in an English rectory. Proposals of union with the Church of Scotland reached him from two opposite quarters. The Free Church and other non-established Presbyterian bodies on the one side, and the Episcopalian Church in Scotland on the other. To the latter he returned a half-regretful *non possumus*. Scotland would not tolerate an episcopal hierarchy at any price. To the former he opposed a firm front, unless the Free Church and its allies would pledge themselves to uphold the National and Established Church. This was a principle that he would not sacrifice for an instant.

Tulloch helped to conduct the negotiations that resulted in the Scotch Education Act of 1872. He was rewarded by a seat on the Education Board. Now that the recent Report of the Royal Commission on the Education Acts in England and Wales is under discussion, his views as to religious education may be worth quoting. In a speech before the Assembly he said :

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"I should deplore if the time ever came when the reading and teaching of these Scriptures should form no longer a part of our common educational system. I believe absolutely in the power of the teacher to read and explain the Holy Scriptures without any sectarian admixture. I believe that all that has been said on this point is simply theory, and that practically there is no difficulty. Sectarianism! why, the whole spirit of the Bible is opposed to sectarianism. Its living study, its simple reading are the best correction of sectarianism; and our Churches, one and all, are only sectarian in so far as they have departed from the Bible and thrown it aside. I should have been glad had the Education Bill been settled on this basis. For myself, I could not accept a narrower basis, and I have no wish for a broader one. The State, I hold, is not entitled to say to the Churches, 'We shall give no religious training. Take these children; they are yours; train them in their respective religions.' But the State was entitled to say to the Churches, 'If you do not think religious teaching on the basis of the Holy Scriptures enough, if you think your own dogmas absolutely necessary, then teach them yourselves.'"

Of irreligious education he would have none. Scarcely less distasteful was sectarian education. He would commit the instruction in Holy Scripture to the teacher alone. I refrain from criticism; but Tulloch's attitude is characteristic, both in its breadth and in its forgetfulness of important elements in the problem.

John Tulloch died on February 13, 1886, at Torquay, whither he had resorted for quiet and change. For days he had seemed almost unconscious, knowing only that his invalid wife was not present with him. His incessant calls for "Jeanie, Jeanie," brought her to his side. He recognized her and became calm. Mrs. Tulloch survived him but a few months.

It is impossible to close even this rapid sketch without noticing his friendship with our Queen—his genuine affection and respect for her, her high esteem and personal regard for him. To Principal Tulloch's widow the royal widow not only wrote a letter overflowing with sympathy, but paid her a private visit of condolence.

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It is scarcely feasible to attempt, in a single page, any estimate of Principal Tulloch's writings, and his influence upon the religious thought of his Church and time. Always he took up the position of an upholder of the principle of an Established Church, and an adherent of a "scientific theology," and a "broadly human" interpretation of the Bible and the creeds. It is scarcely an unfair putting of the case to say that the idea of "rational theology" dominated his intellect. "The spirit of rational inquiry" must not only leaven theology, but must be acknowledged its absolute master. There must be unlimited freedom of thought, investigation, and expression. Reconciliation between this notion and the opinion that secession from a National Church is necessarily unjustifiable is not too easy. Tulloch seems to have held that a comprehensive — that is, a wholly latitudinarian—National Church can furnish the sole guarantee of such liberty; but, apparently, he justified his Erastianism on the ground that only an exclusive State Church could witness sufficiently to the unimportance, even the mischief, of fixed principles, so long as an irreducible minimum of Christian belief was not rejected avowedly. The conception—and, above all, Tulloch's exposition and defence of it—is by no means destitute of value. The Church that frowns down "rational inquiry" is doomed to intellectual ineptitude. And we might well subordinate minor details of symbols and confessions to community of worship. But the defects of the conception go far towards neutralizing its merits. It approaches perilously near to elevating forms above the spirit which they should enshrine. And surely the Church of Christ must assert as well as enquire. Indeed, her primary duty is that of testimony, proclamation, and witness. If there is danger in raising merely human formulæ into unquestionable laws and truths, there is scarcely, if any, less danger in abandoning all fixed principles to the mercy of individual speculation, in preaching unrestrained licence of selection and rejection, if only no glaring violence is done to the laws of logic. After all, the Church dares not dismiss all dogma.

J. ROBINSON GREGORY.

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# CURRENT POINTS AT ISSUE.

## "COWARDLY AGNOSTICISM."

IF noise were work, agnosticism would be the hardest worker of all the "isms." But noise is not work. Generally it is the opposite, as in this very case of agnosticism, which does no work of any kind whatever. It is not good for anything but proclaiming noisily its own ignorance. It advances no thought, makes no discoveries, and explains nothing—not even its own weakness. That, however, was scarcely a reason why the Bishop of Peterborough should call it "cowardly." But there is a reason why this term describes it most accurately, and that reason is stated with grim precision by Mr. Mallock in the April number of the *Fortnightly Review*. His statement is at once an exposure and a *quietus*. The agnostic has not the courage to face the full consequences of his own negations. He has no convictions about God, the soul, or immortality. But what about duty, virtue, and responsibility? How is he to get on in life without convictions about these things? Professor Huxley admits that materialism—that is, necessarianism—would "drown man's soul," "impede his freedom," "paralyse his energies," "debase his moral nature," and "destroy the beauty of his life." A more terrible or more true indictment could not be brought against it. He must consequently see some great gulf between this dark necessarianism and his bright agnosticism that is wholly invisible to others. The two start together, minus God and the soul, and for some time keep unbroken their dreary companionship; but when they together face, and try to explain some change in the world of matter, they part company, and in the easiest manner possible the agnostic escapes disaster. The necessarian says the change *must* happen; the agnostic says it *will* happen; and the thing is done. What a very parody on reasoning is this! Apart from a conscious, unchanging Pro-



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ducer of change—that is, God—there is no "will," there is only "must." Apart, also, from the power of selection amid suggested activities there cannot be either virtue or vice. Here it is that the agnostic shows cowardice, but a cowardice that, after all, is to be admired, for it proves that the man is better than his system. As Mr. Mallock truly says, "Agnostics dare not face what they have done. They dare not look fixedly at the body of the life which they have pierced."

## THE CLAIM OF THE ROMAN CHURCH.

THE occasional desertions of English clerics from their own victorious and honoured ranks to find refuge in the fortress of Rome keep ever alive the necessity of calling attention to the one great arrogance of that Church, and the danger of this arrogance not only to Protestantism, but to Christianity itself. It is well, therefore, that the subject has found a place in the current number of the *Church Quarterly*, where the positions taken up are simply impregnable. All minor controversies are comparatively useless till this claim be destroyed. It is that the Roman Church is the only exponent of pure Christianity on earth. If this be true, then clearly Christianity itself is responsible for the teaching of its representative exponent, and must be judged thereby. If, therefore, Romanism fails to teach and uphold any great moral law, Christianity must be held defective on the same point, so to be useless for the guidance of life, and not from God. Now, it is beyond dispute that she does fail in, for example, the most important matter of truth. Ballerini quotes St. Alphonsus Liguori as saying that it is the common opinion of all that it is lawful to equivocate under oath. Ballerini, Scavini, Bouvier, and others are agreed that a murderer is not bound to exonerate an innocent person who may be accused and punished for the crime he himself had committed. Alphonsus Liguori maintains that an adulteress may deny that she has broken the marriage *tie*. When put upon her oath, provided absolution has been received, she may assert her innocency or deny her guilt, meaning by this denial that she is not guilty of "idolatry." These statements have received recent confirma-

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tion in a manual of moral philosophy just issued by Mr. Rickaby, S.J., who talks of "speaking the truth under a broad mental reservation." Little wonder if unbelief be prevalent when this is the only teaching given as Christian. "It is sad to know that the chief See of Western Christendom has betrayed the crowning glory of the Christian faith in ways hardly less hideous than those of Pagan Rome;" but to receive this as the one visible Church of Christ on earth would sap the very foundations of faith.

## WHAT IS RITUALISM?

THERE is much talk at present about this something called Ritualism, and that by many who do not exactly know what they are talking about. There are some who stigmatise any service more ornate than their own as "Ritualistic"; this is so easy, and as it saves all further trouble or investigation, it is naturally popular. The first step, however, in ascertaining the truth, or falseness, of any system is to discover accurately what it is. Ritualism may be defined as "the enforcement by external symbolism of certain dogmas." It is not to be mistaken for an increased æstheticism in service, though that is a necessary element. The Rev. W. J. E. Bennett, when before the Ritual Commission, stated that he did not contend for any æsthetic purpose, but strictly for a doctrinal purpose. A writer in the May number of the *Fortnightly Review* very pertinently asks, "What is this doctrine?" and shows by abundance of quotation that it is the doctrine of the sacrificial character of the Eucharist. In the *Manual of Devotion*, for example, before the Communion these words are to be used by the worshipper, "It is as yet only bread and wine, but by the miracle of Thy power and grace it will shortly become the body and blood of Thy beloved Son." The writer proceeds most temperately and ably to prove that such teaching is not sanctioned by the formularies of the Church of England, and that it is contrary to the commonest and most elementary principles of honesty and morality for men who have taken the position of priests in that Church to set aside its teaching and substitute for it some intangible

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Catholic tradition. The Bishop of Wakefield, in his recent charge, uttered the following sentiment, "I hold that imitations of Rome are inconsistent with loyalty, on the one hand; while, on the other hand, I find it equally difficult to reconcile with such loyalty . . . . anything which may derogate from the honour our Church assigns to the holy sacraments ordained by our Lord."

There is another aspect of Ritualism that demands serious consideration. May it not explain the great success of such books as *Robert Elsmere* and *John Ward, Preacher?* Why should an authoress be assured of abundant readers "if she describe with sufficient minuteness the religious throes of a high-minded, but imperfectly informed and very conceited, young man, and the intellectual vagaries of the teachers in a seat of learning which has been wittily described as the place to which good German philosophies go when they die"? There must be something in the palate of the times that causes such whipped cream to be a favourite dish. May it not be that when men are offered only iridescent bubbles as nourishment they find this sweetened froth to be solid by comparison? Practical men do not understand "ineffable unions," invisible miracles, and the godliness of vestments, genuflexions, and positions. They appreciate harmony for the ear, and beauty for the eye, but feel that either there is no religion to guide life and control men's passions, or it must be something different from this; and, being ignorant of true, manly Christliness, they fall into the daintily baited trap.

## "THE HIGHER CRITICISM."

THE "Higher Criticism" is the Lower Criticism, not indeed in name, but in reality. We far to readily assent to the magnificent names our opponents so freely bestow on themselves. They dub themselves "Freethinkers," "Advanced thinkers," "Higher Critics," and other equally flattering designations; we meekly bow consent, and without a word of protest give in to their pretensions. This is very foolish on our part, for there is more in a name than is generally realised. If a man call himself "The Philosopher," and others oblig-

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ingly do the same, he will obtain a reputation for philosophy, though he may know as much about it as he does about the non-existent. The result is much the same with regard to our "higher" critics. They come to be regarded as such because they say they are. And so some timid, though not logical, Christians feel that if the Bible will not bear the criticism not only of the higher, but of the highest critics, there must be something wrong; and they almost wish that critics had never been evolved. They are right in the conviction that the Bible ought to be able to bear any true test of thought or criticism; but they are wrong in their wish, for all genuine criticism has had only one result—the clearer illustration of the truth that the Bible is the supernaturally inspired Word of God. Every attack, come from what quarter it may, only serves to show us that we can do nothing against the truth, but only for the truth.

Let us test, in curtest fashion, this claim of the rationalist to the title of "higher" critic. The higher critic is he who is the better prepared for his work. The better prepared is he who, having equal critical power, brings to his work the more unbiassed mind; that is, the fairer mind. The rationalist critic, therefore, must be the lower, because he starts with the determination to explain the two facts, Bible and Christianity, apart from the supernatural and from miracle. The Christian, on the other hand, starts with the determination to take the Bible as he finds it, and explain it as best he may. He is, therefore, the higher critic. The prejudice of the lower critic warps his judgments, distorts his vision, and makes his conclusions worthless. To illustrate practically the exact results of the higher and lower criticisms we should be able to compare the work of men of different schools who are exactly equal in critical training. But as this is wholly impossible, let us compare one man at two different periods of his life, and ask, when was he the higher critic, when he was a disciple of the Tübingen school, or after he had given it up? When, for example, was Dr. Albrecht Ritschl the higher critic, when he wrote his first edition of *Die Entsehung der Altkatholischen Kirche*, or when he published his second?

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Illustrations of the chaos produced by determinism against the supernatural in the manipulation of Scripture are plentiful as applause at a prince's wit. At present, however, one will suffice, and that shall be the result of Professor Huxley's amateurish excursion into the land of German criticism. He is generally supposed to be a sound reasoner, but as Dr. Wace says, in the May number of *The Nineteenth Century*, "What seems to me so astonishing about Professor Huxley's articles is not the wildness of their conclusions, but the rottenness of their ratiocination." "It is not, in fact, reasoning at all, but mere presumption and guess work, inconsistent, moreover, with all experience and common sense." How could it be otherwise with the study of any subject by such a method? What would the Professor say of any student who came to study biology, but only on condition that his self-determined conclusions should be affirmed. All who know this great teacher of biology can imagine the look and tone with which he would be welcomed. This then is the lower criticism, not only because it violates all correct methods of reasoning, but also because it leads to glaring inconsistencies. These men try to take from the Bible that with which it is saturated, and deprive the Christ of those claims He constantly reaffirmed, and then they go into raptures over both the Book and the Man. Spinoza, Pecaut, Fichte, Richter, Strauss, Baur, Rénan, Huxley, wherever they may differ, all agree in perverting the words of Christ, and then extolling the Speaker!

It is also the lower criticism because it is such an utter failure. This is stated by the Christian representative in *Robert Elsmere*, and his statement is not refuted. Dr. Wace also reminds us that the German critics, Hase, Strauss, Baur, Hausrath, Keim, have all made the attempt to explain the records of the New Testament by natural causes, and have all failed. The *Saturday Review* characteristically has it, "As for the huge labours which have been occupied in proving that St. Matthew copied St. Mark, St. Mark St. Matthew, St. Luke both or neither, or that all three copied each other, they are to any one who knows what literary criticism means, simply puerile."

JAS. MCCANN.

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# CURRENT LITERATURE.

**Commentaries.** We gladly welcome a new edition of *Dr. F. Delitzsch's Commentary on Genesis.* (1) Fifteen years have elapsed since the fourth edition was issued; and "the results of incessant labour subsequent to 1872 are deposited in this fifth edition." That it is a well of learning will be quite according to expectation; but though Dr. Delitzsch is perfectly acquainted with all that has been done or attempted in this field of Biblical research by Wellhausen, Kuenen, and Dillman, and appreciates their skill and their labours, he tells us that the spirit of the commentary remains unaltered since 1852. "I am not a believer in the 'Religion of the Times of Darwin.' I am a believer in two orders of things, and not merely in one, which the miraculous would drill holes in. I believe in the Easter announcement, and I accept its deductions." Further on he says, "I esteem the great fundamental facts of redemption as exalted far above the vicissitudes of scientific views and discoveries. . . . . Those who, with the Church renovated at the Reformation, will confess that, *Primum toto pectore Prophetica et Apostolica scripta Veteris et Novi Testamenti ut limpidissimos purissimosque Israelis fontes recipimus et amplectimur*, will not make a boast of uttering depreciating, insolent, and contemptuous criticisms concerning the writers of the Bible. Their attitude towards Holy Scripture will be free, but not free-thinking; free, but not frivolous." And this will be especially the case with respect to Genesis—that fundamental book in the Book of books. For there is no book in the Old Testament which is of such cardinal importance as this first book of the Pentateuchal Thorah, which corresponds with the first book of the *quadriforme evangelium.* Dr. Delitzsch maintains, "that the essence of Christianity has no direct relation to such questions as to whether Adam lived 930 years or not; whether the descent of one or other nation be ethnographically or linguistically verified; whether the chronological network of the antediluvian and postdiluvian history appears in presence of the Egyptian and Babylonico-Assyrian monuments to need extension; whether many narratives are but duplicates, *i.e.*, different legendary forms of one and the same occurrence. But if it were true that geology can follow back the age of the earth for myriads, nay, millions of years (Lyellism); and that man was, in the struggle for exist-



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ence, developed from the animal world (Darwinism); if in the place of the childlike innocence of the first created pair we have to place the cannibalism of the half-brutal manhood of the stone period; and in that of the Divine re-elevation of the fallen, the gradual upward steps of self-culture during ten thousand years—then, indeed, we admit it without reserve, the Christian view of the world is condemned as henceforth untenable. For documentary Christianity professes to be the religion of the redemption of Adamic mankind, and has for its inalienable premises the unity of the first created pair, and the curse and promise by which this was succeeded. Hence, were we even to grant that Gen. i.-iii. speaks of the beginnings of human history with the stammering tongue of childhood, it must still be maintained,—if Christianity is to hold its ground as the religion of the recovery of the lost, and as the religion of the consummation aimed at from the beginning,—that man, as the creature of God, entered upon existence as at once human and capable of development in good, but fell from this good beginning by failing to stand the test of his freedom. Menken is right when he says, "If the first three chapters of Genesis are taken out of the Bible, it is deprived of the *terminus à quo;* if the last three chapters of the Apocalypse are taken away, it is deprived of the *terminus ad quem.*" Dr. Delitzsch is willing to admit a Hexateuch, or a Heptateuch, or an Oktateuch; but he maintains that a Mosiac Thorah is the base of all. He deduces many proofs of the antiquity of the accounts, and points out that Jud. (v. 5) celebrates the revelation of God upon Mount Sinai as taking place amidst wondrous phenomena of nature, and that Micah (vi. 4) names Moses, Aaron, and Miriam as leaders out of Egypt; and that Moses is exalted as a prophet by Hosea (xii. 13). Jeremiah (xv. 1) speaks of Moses as powerful in prayer, and Isa. lxiii. 10, *seq.*, is a noteworthy historical testimony. Dr. Delitzsch says that it is a great commendation of the fidelity of Scripture that in the transaction between Abraham and the Hittites respecting the purchase of the cave of Machpelah not a word is said of writing. Nothing is said of cursive writing in Genesis, but we find in Exodus and onwards down to Deuteronomy both an acquaintance with, and the most various use of writing. Of writing on papyrus not a trace is found in Genesis. We now know that cursive writing on papyrus was practised long before the time that Moses lived, and by the kindness of Dr. Kinns, and that of Mr. Renouf, the keeper of the Egyptian antiquities in the British Museum, we have seen a MS. on papyrus



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which those learned men believe to be 400 years older than the time of Moses, and there is cursive writing on wood much earlier than this. Here, then, is testimony to the high antiquity and accuracy of the Genesis account, and proof that Moses could well have possessed ability to make a MS. of the Pentateuch; for he "was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," and it is certain that the Egyptians in the Mosiac period possessed the prerequisites for committing their memorable events to writing. In the account of the creative events of the third day, Dr. Delitzsch remarks that in Gen. i. 11 a second creative act is added to the first—and especially in the case of the fruit-tree, the fruit of it is determined according to its species. While there is now no generation of organic existences from lifeless matter, the world of plants originally came into existence through the earth being miraculously fertilised by the word of God. And here, on the third day, the narrative relegates the severance of the kinds entirely to the beginning of creation. In discussing the phrase translated "Let us make man" (Gen. i. 26), Dr. Delitzsch says it is not a self-objectivising plural, nor merely a *plur. majestatis*, for where it seems to be found we have to admit that God the Father is comprising Himself either with the Son and the Spirit or with celestial spirits. The Midrash and Philo explain that in this place Elohim concedes to the B'ne Elohim an interest in the creation of man, though no actual share in it; and so Dr. Delitzsch is of opinion that we must understand "in our image and in our likeness" as including the angels, who, according to Scripture, form one family together with God. The Divine image in man consists in his being a creature who has mastery over himself (self-conscious and self-determining), and therefore exalted above all other earthly creatures. Man is, as to his physical nature, the most perfect and highly developed of animals; nor is his inner nature, his spiritual soul, categorically different from the animal inner nature. The difference, however, is this, that the spirit-soul of man is self-conscious and capable of infinite improvement because it is God-descended in another and a higher manner. The question of trichotomy or dichotomy is not, according to Dr. Delitzsch, correctly formulated, the Scripture view of man being trichotomous and yet dichotomous.

Thus does this commentator proceed from verse to verse of the fourteen chapters of which the first volume treats, surrounding each passage with a wealth of learning which is in many ways astonishing. The style is somewhat diffuse, and it requires a good deal of attention

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at times to see exactly what the commentator means to convey; but the attention which has to be given will in all cases be amply repaid. He does not avoid, nor does he slur over any difficulty; and, though he is fully aware of rationalistic objections to the narrative he is elucidating, Dr. Delitzsch maintains the orthodox belief, and gives reasons which are quite as cogent, and in our idea more convincing, than any which can be alleged to the contrary. The Commentary is a learned book fitted for learned men, and it would be well if many who consider that wisdom can only be attained by the study of "science" were able to read and thoroughly appreciate the vast stores of knowledge which are contained in this monumental work of the great German scholar.

*The Manual of Biblical Archæology* (2) is not a Commentary in the usual acceptation of the term, and yet it is a Commentary in a very real sense, and a most useful help in reading the Scriptures, not only to the student who wants authoritative assistance in the elucidation of Holy Writ, but also to the ordinary reader who will be much interested in the vast stores of information which Dr. Keil has so carefully arranged. The second volume, now before us, contains six chapters on Jewish worship; but is mainly taken up with the social relations of the Israelites. Under the head of Domestic Relations are chapters about the dwellings of the Israelites, their food, and clothing. Then follow the nature and character of marriages; the upbringing of children, the treatment of servants, and domestic inmates, and family life in general. Then we find the occupation of the Israelites—agriculture, cattle rearing, trade and industry, science and art, and lastly their State relations, constitution, government, laws, and political standing towards other people. On all these subjects much information is afforded, and the authorities are given, so that the student is guided to the literature bearing on any point. Dr. Keil's remarks on the scape-goat, and on the division of animals into clean and unclean, are suggestive, even if somewhat fanciful. The notes are printed after each section in the same type, only with a little less spacing, so that constant looking at the foot of the page or appendix is avoided. It is hardly necessary to add that the volume is got up with Messrs. Clark's usual care; and it is in every way worthy of standing along with its companions on a shelf ready to hand, for we feel sure it will be often consulted with advantage by all those who wish to attain an accurate knowledge of the meaning of Holy Writ.

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The volume of the *Biblical Illustrator* (3), which contains a commentary on the Ephesians, is quite up to the level of those that have preceded it. There is a good introduction, in which all the points of dispute with regard to this Epistle are discussed, and, we must add, their insignificance shown. Every verse in the epistle is amply illustrated with such explanatory remarks as will be useful to the ordinary reader; while the preacher who turns to the volume for homiletical help must be hard to please if he cannot find it.

Dr. Fausset's two handsome volumes (4), one entitled *Studies in the cl. Psalms* and the other *An Expository Commentary on the Judges* have now been some time before the public; and have by their merits won their way into esteem. They are valuable works, done with loving, reverent carefulness and much learning and research. The grouping of the Psalms gives a freshness to them, and often sets them in a new light. For devotional reading it will be found extremely useful. In the Judges, Dr. Fausset, does not avoid the difficulties which the Scriptural narrative contains; but he does not greatly advance their elucidation; perhaps it is not, at present, possible to do so; at any rate he does not hazard guesses, which are oftentimes more daring than well founded. The expository portions show that Dr. Fausset knows and values evangelical truth, and they may be recommended as being both sound and sensible.

The first part of the *Pulpit Commentary* (5) on St. Luke is before us; and the best praise we can give it is to say that it is a worthy successor of the volumes that have gone before it. The introduction is very complete, and the commentary and homiletics very useful. When the other volume appears we shall probably review both together at greater length.

(1) *Commentary on Genesis.* Fifth Edition. By F. Delitzsch. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

(2) *Manual of Biblical Archæology.* By C. F. Keil. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1888. Price 10s. 6d.

(3) *Biblical Illustrator.* Ephesians. By Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M.A. London: J. Nisbet & Co. Price 7s. 6d.

(4) *Horæ Psalmicæ. Studies in the cl. Psalms.* Price 7s. 6d. *An Expository Commentary on the Book of Judges.* Price 7s. 6d. By Rev. A. R. Fausset, D.D. London: J. Nisbet & Co.

(5) *The Pulpit Commentary.* Edited by the Very Rev. H. D. M. Spence, D.D. (Dean of Gloucester), and by the Rev. J. S. Exell, M.A. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1889. Price 10s. 6d.

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Magazines. *The Homiletic Review* (1) is an American monthly magazine edited by Drs. Funk and Sherwood, and, judging from the number before us, is a very interesting and useful publication. Preachers and ministers, for whom it is primarily intended, will find in it much that is helpful; the notes for sermons, &c., are extremely good, and the longer articles, which are very well done, will be read with interest by a larger number than preachers and ministers. We notice with especial approval an article by the Rev. Owen Jones, entitled "Preacher and Orator," and there is also an excellent criticism on the poetry of modern scepticism by Professor Murray. *The Homiletic Review* deserves to be known widely in this country as well as in America.

The same publishers also send us a number of the *Missionary Review* (2) *of the World*, which we have read with pleasure. The article which contains further testimonies to missions ought to be read by all manner of persons, for it will encourage those who do take an interest in missionary work, and go far to convince those who decry it, that there is a good deal more done in this way than they think; the rest of the magazine is thoroughly praiseworthy.

*The Theological Review* (3) contains a very suggestive article about Dr. Hatch's views and researches in Biblical Greek; and another by Mr. Halliday Douglas on the claim of Jesus to be the Messiah. There is also an interesting "Symposium" on Church Service from the Presbyterian point of view, and an excellent series of critical notices.

*The Homiletic Magazine* (4) for April maintains the level of excellence which this publication has reached. There is a very interesting commentary on Micah, and a capital sermon in outline on "Keeping the Temper." This magazine keeps to its title in the most commendable manner.

*The Archæological Review* (5) is not strictly theological, but the number for March which is before us contains an able article by Mr. J. Jacobs on "Recent Research in Bible Archæology," the first of a series which is to form a prominent feature in the current year's issue. Mr. Jacobs has come to the conclusion that the antiquary of the old school, "the bones and stones man," as he calls him, can find nothing in the Old Testament on which to exercise his industry and ingenuity. But he thinks that specialists may exercise their powers with advantage. Mr. Jacobs points out the backward state of Old Testament scholarship with regard to the condition of the text, and

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